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RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

AN accurate judge of clerical duty (the author of "Zeal without Innovation") has termed Burnet's Letter to Charles II. an "extraordinary instance of pastoral fidelity, of disinterested virtue, and of exemplary decorum." Hume complains of Burnet for likening the king to Tiberius; but the bishop had a nearer opportunity of ascertaining the fairness of the comparison than his censor; and on moral questions the latter has no clear right to determine our judgment. For my own part, I incline to regard the letter copied below as the most faithful description of the king's character hitherto published, and fully authorizing Mr. Fox's laconic conclusion, that he was "a bad king, and a bad man *." I have, however, transcribed it, not with a view to stir a historical question (if indeed there be a question,) but to place before the reader the high-principled courage of a man who ought to be most venerated by those who have endeavoured to discredit him.

29 January, 1679-80.

"May it please your majesty,

"I have not presumed to trouble your majesty for some months, not having any thing worthy your time

* Introduction to his History. It is really distressing to hear our ecclesiastical historian Collier express himself thus: "It must be granted, his" (the king's) "pleasures were too strong for him. These sallies proved unserviceable to his exchequer, and drove him upon inequalities in his administration." Shaftesbury, and even Rochester himself, might have been more ungentle.

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to offer; and now I choose rather this way, since the infinite duty I owe you puts me under restraints in discourse which I cannot so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an account of all my actions: I therefore beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful zeal of your poor subject, who has no other design in it, than your good, and the discharge of his own conscience.

"I must, then, first assure your majesty, I never discovered any thing like a design of raising rebellion, among all those with whom I converse; but I shall add, on the other hand, that most people grow sullen, and highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you. Formerly your ministers, or his royal highness, bore the blame of things that were ungrateful; but now it falls upon yourself; and time, which cures most other distempers, increases this. Your last speech makes many think, it will be easy to fetch up petitions from all parts of England: this is now under consultation, and is not yet determined; but I find so many inclined to promote them, that, as far as I can judge, it will go that way. If your majesty calls a new parliament, it is believed that those who have promoted the petitions will be generally elected; for the inferior sort of people are much set upon them, and make their judgment of men from their behaviour in that matter. The soberer sort of those who are ill pleased at your conduct, reckon that either the state of your affairs beyond sea, or of

your exchequer at home, will ere long necessitate your meeting your parliament; and that then things must be rectified: and therefore they use their utmost endeavours to keep all quiet. If your majesty has a session in April, for supporting your allies, I find it is resolved by many, that the money necessary to maintain your alliances shall be put into the hands of commissioners, to issue it as they shall answer to the two houses: and those will be so chosen, that as it is likely that the persons will be very unacceptable to you, so they, being trusted with the money, will be as a council of state, to controul all your councils. And as to your exchequer, I do not find any inclination to consider your necessity, unless many things be done to put them into another disposition than I can observe in them. The things that will be demanded will not be of so easy a digestion as that I can imagine you will ever be brought to them, or indeed that it will be reasonable or honourable for you to grant them. So that, in this disorder of affairs, it is easy to propose difficulties, but not so easy to find out that which may remove them.

“ There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, in which all honest men agree, as that which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles:—it is not the change of a minister, or of a council, a new alliance, or a session of parliament; but it is (and suffer me, sir, to speak it with a more than ordinary earnestness) a change in your own heart, and in your course of life. And now, sir, if you do not with indignation throw this paper from you, permit me (with all the humility of a subject prostrate at your feet) to tell you, that all the distrust your people have of you, all the necessities you are now under, all the indignation of Heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all your councils, flow from this, that you have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so

many sinful pleasures. Your majesty may perhaps justly think, that many of those that oppose you have no regard for religion; but the body of your people consider it more than you can imagine. I do not desire your majesty to put on a hypocritical shew of religion, as Henry the Third of France did, hoping thereby to have weathered the storms of those times. No! that would be soon seen through; and as it would provoke God more, so it would increase jealousies. No, sir! it must be real, and the evidences of it signal: all those about you, who are the occasions of sin, must be removed, and your court be reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to religion sincerely and seriously, you shall quickly find a serene joy of another nature possess your mind, than what arises from gross pleasures: God would be at peace with you, and direct and bless all your counsels: all good men would presently turn to you, and ill men would be ashamed, and have a thin party. For, I speak it knowingly, there is nothing has so alienated the body of your people from you, as what they have heard of your life, which disposes them to give an easy belief to all other scandalous reports.

“ Sir, this counsel is now almost as necessary for your affairs as it is for your soul: and though you have highly offended that God, who has been infinitely merciful to you, in preserving you at Worcester fight, and during your long exile, and who brought you back so miraculously; yet he is still good and gracious, and will, upon your sincere repentance, and change of life, pardon all your sins and receive you into his favour. Oh, sir, what if you should die in the midst of all your sins! At the great tribunal, where you must appear, there will be no regard to the crown you now wear; but it will aggravate your punishment, that being in so eminent a station, you have so much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope you be-

lieve there is a God, and a life to come, and that sin shall not pass unpunished. If your majesty will reflect upon your having now been twenty years upon the throne, and in all that time how little you have glorified God, how much you have provoked him, and that your ill example has drawn so many after you to sin that men are not now ashamed of their vices, you cannot but think that God is offended with you: and if you consider how ill your councils at home and your wars abroad have succeeded, and how much you have lost the hearts of your people, you may reasonably conclude this is of God, who will not turn away his anger from you, till you turn to him with your whole heart.

"I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper; yet I acknowledge I have been so pressed in my mind to make this address to you, that I could have no ease till I did it: and since you were pleased to direct me to send you, through Mr. Chiffinch's hands, such informations as I thought fit to convey to you, I hope your majesty will not be offended, if I have made this use of that liberty. I am sure I can have no other design in it but your good; for I know very well this is not the method to serve any ends of my own. I therefore throw myself at your feet; and once more, in the name of God, whose servant I am, do most humbly beseech your majesty to consider of what I have written, and not to despise it for the meanness of the person who has sent it, but to apply yourself to religion in earnest: and I dare assure you of many blessings, both temporal and spiritual, in this life, and of eternal glory in the life to come: but if you will go on in your sins, the judgments of God will probably pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after-ages; and after this life, you will be forever miserable; and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day,

that I gave you this free and faithful warning.

"Sir, no person alive knows that I have written to you to this purpose; and I chose this evening, hoping that your exercise to-morrow may put you into a disposition to weigh it more carefully. I hope your majesty will not be offended with this sincere expression of my duty to you; for I durst not have ventured on it, if I had not thought myself bound to it, both by the duty I owe to God, and that which will ever oblige me to be,

"May it please your majesty, &c."

Burnet's account of the reception of this letter is as follows.—"I carried this letter to Chiffinch's on the twenty-ninth of January; and hoped the reflections on what had befallen his (the king's) father on the thirtieth of January, might move him to consider these things more carefully. Lord Arran happened to be then in waiting; and he came to me next day, and told me, he was sure the king had a long letter from me; for he held the candle to him while he read it. He knew at all that distance that it was my hand. The king read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire. And not long after lord Arran took occasion to name me; and the king spoke of me with great sharpness: so he perceived he was not pleased with my letter."

It must be observed, that this letter was never published till the year 1734, and then by the writer's son. The bishop died in 1715. I mention these dates in order to shew that Burnet's address to the king was, as it professes to be, entirely private. He condemns, in an early part of the *History of his Own Times*, the conduct of the Scotch presbyterian preachers, who, after the restoration, were accustomed to clamour about the crimes of kings. "In their sermons," he says, "they were apt to enlarge on the state of the present time, and to preach

against the sins of princes and courts; a topic that naturally makes men popular. It has the appearance of courage; and the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on, in which they perceive they have no share; and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other men's sins." And Hooker observes, that "there is not any amongst us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another man's duty, than the best of us is to discharge exactly his own." He adds, however, "that not to dislike sin, though it should be in the highest, were unrighteous meekness; and proud righteousness it is to condemn or dishonour highness, though it should be in the sinfulness of men that live." A very impartial statement this, and well remembered by Burnet. Men do indeed discover wonderful sagacity in detecting the faults of their superiors, and generally with as much consistency as drunkards reprove the intemperate. The reformers of our own times remind us of lord Chesterfield's sarcastic remark to his son,—"Happy is it for this nation that we have, in Mr. Wilkes, a patriotic defender of our rights and liberties; and, in the earl of Sandwich, so zealous a defender of our religion and morals!"

As the *Christian Observer* is principally intended for the domestic circle, I am anxious that the general argument of the bishop's letter be brought to bear upon what, in opposition to libertinism, are termed the innocent and allowable pleasures of the world. The date of my paper reminds me of the festive indulgences of the closing and of the approaching year. Before your December number lie upon our tables, many schemes of gaiety will be debated, arranged, and in part executed. Now I do not mean to run any revolting parallel between the positive vices of the court of Charles the Second, and the family or public amusements of the present day; but it is submitted,

whether it may not be a very serious duty, demanded of the parents and guardians of young persons, to examine how far sober dissipation (as it is sometimes called) incurs, in its degree, the reproach and the moral danger of acknowledged depravity; and farther, to ascertain the tendency of occasional visits to the scenes of worldly gaiety, made by such as are usually debarred from them. There is certainly a circuitous as well as a direct path to evil; and we know that, in the minds of many of the young and inexperienced, a curiosity exists concerning the ways of the world, and a secret dread of appearing ignorant about them, when the conversation of their party exhibits the knowledge of all except themselves. Yet here, the veterans of this world would tell us, if they durst,—some indeed, whom disappointment has made desperate, have divulged the secret,—that, "'tis folly to be wise." But you will not persuade your juniors of their blissful ignorance, especially if you bid, or permit, them "taste, and away." I know not what treaty can be made between two irreconcilable interests. Do you choose to give your children such a taste of pleasure as will awaken and stimulate a passion for habits of general worldliness; and teach them, when grown up into men and women, to connect their views of happiness with rambling from home, crowds, flatteries, personal display, publicity, and increasing distinction? It is difficult, in after times, to controul the inclinations of young persons, by pronouncing, "Hitherto ye shall go, and no farther." The tide will flow fast towards the feet and the robe of Canute.

I certainly think that the generality of religious persons have, in their manner of condemning public amusements, attributed to them more than their share of evil. They have always appeared to me to single out a ball-room and a theatre as the only

favourite resort of demons. Archbishop Tillotson, indeed, called the play-house "the devil's chapel;" and I have no wish whatever to soften the name: but we must at the same time recollect, that it is possible to rail against the world in the *spirit* of the world; and to make disgraceful exhibitions of our own sinfulness, in labouring to criminate our neighbours. Yet let the truth prevail. The abandoned life of Charles the Second, and the decorous thoughtlessness which contrives to escape the imputation of absolute guilt, are both, in the result, fatal to moral health and to eternal peace. If the one offends, the other deludes. Profligacy bears characters known and deciphered by all. With the creditable pleasures of the world it is otherwise; yet do they cause us to forget the future: and *if such be their practical effect*, their advocates may be startled, but let them be assured, that "the *end* of those things is death."

"Immortal were we, or else mortal quite,
I less should blame this criminal delight;
But since the gay assembly's gayest room,
Is but an upper story to some tomb,
Methinks we need not our short beings shun,
And, thought to fly, consent to be undone:
We need not buy our ruin with our crime,
And give eternity to murder time."

Dec. 1, 1808.

GUSTAVUS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

IN my letter which appeared in your number for last August, I expressed a doubt whether the fifth apocalyptic vial were yet poured out; and hinted, that it might possibly be poured out on the French government, and thus produce that very retardation which Mr. Bicheno has thought to be so improbable. At that time I was unwilling to speak any thing *positively*, whatever might be my *private conjectures*; but contented myself with saying, that as yet I saw no reason for supposing myself mistaken in my date of *the 1260 years*, because, if the fifth vial

remained to be poured out, it might easily be conceived so to retard matters, that *the 1260 years* should not expire until *the year 1866*. The events of every day have since served to confirm my opinion, and to convince me more decidedly than ever that Mr. Bicheno and Talib are wrong in believing *the 1260 years* to have expired at the era of the French revolution.

From the uncertain nature of the last head of the Roman beast, I was led to suspect, when I published the third edition of my work on *the 1260 years*, that the fifth vial was poured upon the throne of the beast, when Austria experienced a most signal and extensive humiliation in her last war with France, and when her sovereign was compelled to resign his title of *Emperor of the Romans**; because, till then, the chief of the German body was the representative of Charlemagne, and therefore the last head of the Roman beast. But I am now inclined to give a very different interpretation of the prophecy.

"The fifth angel poured out his vial upon the throne of the beast: and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds."

The *abstract* meaning of the prophecy seems to be this. Since *the beast* here mentioned is undoubtedly *the Roman beast under his last head or form of government*, since *the apocalyptic great city* means *the Roman empire*, and since *the throne* means *the authority exercised within that empire by its existing head*†; the pouring out of a vial upon the throne of the beast, so as to fill his whole kingdom with darkness, appears most naturally to mean some severe and remarkable blow aimed directly at his imperial authority, which should fill his whole kingdom with confusion,

* Vol. ii. p. 405—407.

† Dissert. on the 1260 Years, chap. ii. 3.

and irritate himself and his adherents to a pitch of demoniacal madness.

Such seems to be the abstract meaning of the prophecy : we have now to consider the proper application of it. I have already ventured to assert, what few perhaps will be disposed to deny, that in consequence of the late humiliation of the Austrian emperor, and his cession of the dignity of emperor of the Romans, the governor of France has plainly become the representative of the Carolingian head of the Roman beast, or the emperor of the western Roman empire. If then the fifth vial be not already poured out, it must be poured out on the present French government, because that government is the existing head of the Roman beast. Now let us compare the events of the day with what I have stated to be the abstract meaning of the prophecy. A direct and most energetic attack is made upon the claims of the French ruler to be the supreme emperor of the west. A whole nation, which he had considered as his abject vassals, and which he had received and given in transfer like so many beasts of burden, suddenly rises as one man, throws off his yoke, and defies him to his very face. In all the Spanish manifestoes he is denounced as a tyrant, a monster, and an usurper ; and in one of them he is proclaimed to be the great Antichrist of the last ages. Not content with this, the Spanish patriots call upon the enslaved French to tear him from his throne, and to consign him to that infamy and punishment which he so well deserves : they exhort all Europe to take up arms : and, with astonishing rapidity, they rid their country of its oppressors, and rout the veteran legions of France with only a brave undisciplined peasantry. The diabolical rage of the tyrant and his satellites may more easily be conceived than described. They gnaw their tongues for pain, and blaspheme the God of heaven. It is observable, that this vial immediately succeeds and seems to be the effect of the

fourth, in which I conceive the systematic military tyranny of France to be predicted. Such tyranny naturally at length produces resistance : an attack is made upon the throne of the beast. It is further observable, that the effusion of the sixth vial, though it has long seemed to be on the very point of being poured out, has hitherto been remarkably suspended : the Ottoman empire could not fall until the throne of the Roman beast under his Carolingian head had experienced a violent attack.

What may be the result of the present struggle in Spain, and how far the spirit of opposition to the tyranny of Buonaparte may extend, it is no easy matter to calculate : but it appears to me, that, even if Spain be eventually crushed, enough has already been done to accomplish the prophecy. The probability however is, that it will be a long-protracted struggle : and that it will cause that very retardation, which Mr. Bicheno deemed so improbable, but which may now perhaps occasion the 1260 years not to expire until the year 1866, agreeably to the opinion which I have ever advanced. At least, until affairs take a contrary turn, I shall consider them as decidedly confirming my system, and as decidedly contradicting that of Talib and Mr. Bicheno.

Oct. 1. 1806.

G. S. FABER.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THERE is no part of the Apocalypse in which we are so nearly interested, as that which relates to the effusion of the seven vials of wrath.

For the reasons which have been assigned by Mr. Faber and others, I think it evident that all the vials belong to the third woe-trumpet : and as the object of that trumpet is the destruction of all the powers that oppose themselves to the cause and kingdom of the Messiah, it follows that the vials of wrath are poured out for the same purpose. Further, since it appears, both from

the prophecies of Daniel and St. John, that the last power which opposes itself to Christ is the Roman empire, it must be that this empire is the principal subject of these vials of wrath. Accordingly, we shall find that all the vials are poured out on the Roman empire, with the exception of the sixth, which is poured upon the great river Euphrates; and by this symbol I agree with Mr. Faber and others in thinking that the Turkish empire is intended.

But as we learn also, that all the angels poured out their vials upon the earth (Rev. xvi. 1.), we may conclude that this earth was a symbol denoting the whole extent of the Roman empire, and including Turkey. And by comparing Rev. xvi. 1. with the remainder of the chapter, we further discover, that the earth on which the vials were poured was a complete symbolical world, having dry land, a sea, rivers and fountains, a sun, air or an atmosphere, cities, mountains, islands; each of which subordinate symbols must have an appropriate signification. And as the vials began to be poured out in the year 1792, the symbolical world seen by the apostle must have exhibited the Roman empire as it existed at that period.

As the apostle "*heard a great voice out of the temple, saying (not to the FIRST ANGEL ONLY, but) to the SEVEN ANGELS, go and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth*" (Rev. xvi. 1.), and as we know that these pure and celestial spirits do not linger in the execution of the Divine commands, I am of opinion that the whole of the seven vials began to be poured out in the year 1792: consequently, that these vials are synchronical, and do not follow each other in chronological succession, but that we now live under the effects of the whole of them. I shall now proceed to state what I conceive to be the proper interpretation of them.

I think that Mr. Faber has rightly expounded the first vial. This vial

was poured out upon the earth, and produced a noisome and grievous sore upon the men who had the mark of the beast and worshipped his image. This sore (Mr. Faber says) was atheism, which was then first openly professed by a whole nation*. The principles of the French revolutionists, which were a compound of atheism, contempt of all lawful government and authority, and thirst for political innovation, and which may concisely be denominated by the term *jacobinism*, have been the germ and fruitful source of all the fearful calamities which have overwhelmed Europe under the third woe. There is therefore an inimitable beauty and propriety in the vial, which develops these principles, being placed first.

"The second angel poured out his vial on the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man, &c."—Since the collective body of the symbolical waters signify the collective body of nations and multitudes and people and tongues of the Roman earth (Rev. xvii. 15), it follows, that every distinct body of water must symbolize a particular nation; and the symbolical sea, as being the greatest body of waters, must signify the greatest and most numerous people of the Roman world, which is without dispute the French nation†. This nation, in the year 1792, became drenched in its own blood, and the whole territory of France was converted into a vast slaughter-house‡. The revolutionary massacres have long since ceased; but French blood still flows, wherever

* Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 324. 1st edit.

† It is by no means necessary to suppose that the sea seen by the apostle in his symbolical earth was an ocean, like the Atlantic, or even like the Mediterranean. It seems more probable, as well as agreeable to the just proportion of the symbols, that it was an inland sea, like the sea or lake of Genesareth which was called "*the sea*" by the Jews, no less emphatically than the Mediterranean. Vide Mark iv. 1.—All the ideas and imagery of the Apocalypse were Jewish

‡ Faber's Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 325.

the conscripts of Napoleon are dragged to fight his battles : and all the French blood that thus flows, belongs, I conceive, to this vial.

"The third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood."—As the sea, the great body of the waters, symbolizes the greatest nation of the Roman earth; in like manner the rivers and fountains of waters signify the other nations, viz. Germany, divided into many states and principalities, Italy, the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal, &c. All these nations have drunk or are drinking of the cup of blood put into their hands by the third angel *.

"The fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun, and power was given him to scorch men with fire, and men were scorched with great heat," &c.—The sun denotes the government of the principal power within the limits of the Roman empire, *i. e.* of France. The limited monarchy of France was overthrown in the year 1792, and was succeeded by the revolutionary government, which in every stage of its existence has tormented the men of the Roman earth with a most grinding tyranny. I cannot limit the influence of this vial to any particular period of the revolutionary government : it seems to me to have been commensurate with the existence of that government; and it will probably continue to operate, with awfully increasing energy, till the battle of Armageddon †.

"The fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat (or throne) of the beast; and his kingdom was (or became) full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain."—By the throne of the beast, I understand the councils and power of the head of the beast. Now Mr. Faber has skewn, I think

successfully, that at the sounding of the seventh trumpet the Austrian monarch, in his capacity of emperor of Germany and of the Romans, was head of the beast. The emperor was also at the head of all the coalitions against France. His total disappointment and failure in all these coalitions; the infatuate blindness which so often distinguished the councils and plans of the allies*; their multiplied defeats; the annihilation of army after army, and the loss of one province after another, till at length, by the battle of Austerlitz, Austria was laid prostrate at the feet of her conqueror; are all, as I conceive, the result of the fifth vial poured out on the seat of the beast in the year 1792.

The throne of the beast is now placed in the French dominions, and I presume that the influence of this vial has not ceased. If I mistake not, it is severely felt by Napoleon, in the entire failure of all his plans for the subjugation of England, and for destroying her commercial and naval greatness. His kingdom is now filled with darkness, and they gnaw their tongues for pain, and blaspheme God because of their pains and their sores.

"The sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared."—It is now allowed, by our ablest commentators, that the Euphrates symbolizes the Turkish empire, the population and power of which are to be dried up and exhausted under this vial. But as the drying up of the waters of a perennial stream is a gradual and slow operation, the selection of this symbol to prefigure the destruction of that empire, shews that we are not

* Faber's Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 529.

† Though Mr. Faber interprets this vial as I do, he yet excludes from its operation what is, if possible, the worst period of the revolutionary government. His system, that the vials succeed each other in chronological order, led him to this result.

* A selection of these marks of infatuation would tend in a wonderful manner to illustrate the fulfilment of prophecy. Among the most remarkable may be placed, the uniform opposition of the Austrian cabinet to the archduke Charles, their ablest general; and the unprecedented folly of Muck in the campaign of 1805.

to look for any very sudden effect from the effusion of the sixth vial. No one will dispute, that since the last peace between Russia and the Porte (concluded in the year 1791) the Ottoman empire has been hastening to its dissolution. The waters of this mystic Euphrates are rapidly drying up, and we thus have evidence that the sixth vial has long since begun to be poured out.—I shall consider the other events of this vial when I treat of the seventh.

“The seventh angel poured out his vial into the air.”—The seventh vial is the most important of the whole. It has justly been styled the vial of consummation. It comprises within itself more particulars than all the other vials: its contents occupy the last verses of the 16th and the whole of the three following chapters of the Apocalypse. In order to interpret this vial aright, it is necessary to inquire what is intended by the *symbolical air* into which it was poured. It is through the medium of the natural air, or atmosphere, that the natural sun, moon, and stars communicate to us their heat, their light, and influences. It is the same air which is in us the principle of vitality. Now through what air, or atmosphere, do the symbolical sun and stars communicate their influences, their light, and their heat, to us? I answer, that it is through the medium of the political and ecclesiastical constitutions of the states. These constitutions are also the principle of vitality to the body politic. The political and ecclesiastical constitutions of the states of the world are, therefore, the *symbolical air or atmosphere*. Hence it is, perhaps, that Satan (in Ephes. ii.) is called the prince of the power of the air; because he ruled, and was seated, or enthroned, in the political constitutions of the world, which were all framed on principles friendly to the interests of his kingdom.

The seventh vial is therefore, I presume, poured out upon the *political and ecclesiastical constitution* of the Roman empire, as it was fixed at

the sounding of the seventh trumpet in the year 1792. The immediate effects of this vial are, “*voices, thunders, and lightnings*” in the *symbolical atmosphere*; a tremendous agitation throughout the government and politico-ecclesiastical system of the bestial empire, destructive of the general equilibrium or balance of power, and superinducing all the horrors of a political storm. I need scarcely add, that this is an exact description of the state of the Babylonian empire since the year 1792, and till the present time; and the violence of the tempest does not yet appear to have diminished.

“And there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great.”—This mighty earthquake is the result of the political storm previously mentioned, and it most exactly describes that stupendous and terrific revolution in the Roman empire, which commenced in the overthrow of the French monarchy in 1792, and has since extended to every corner of continental Europe.

“And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell.”—By *the great city* I conceive we are to understand the Roman empire, as forming a great federal state*. Whether the tripartite division of this empire be yet formed, seems uncertain, for it is doubtful whether England be a part of the great city or not†: but at the moment when this is written, it is remarkable that the continental Roman empire of the west is virtually divided into three parts or portions: 1. France and her federal states and kingdoms; 2. Austria;

* Faber's Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 356.

† Since the change of the English dynasty by the glorious revolution of 1688, we may perhaps indulge a hope that England has ceased to form a part of the great city; and her singular preservation from all the miseries of continental Europe seems to confirm this most desirable idea. If, on the contrary, she be a part of the great city, then at present it is divided into four parts.

3. Spain and Portugal, united in determined resistance to the lawless ambition of Napoleon. I apprehend, however, that the tripartite division of the great city is not to be of long continuance; it appears to me that this city will at length be formed into one complex sovereignty, consisting of the last head of the beast and ten kings, who receive power with him *one hour*. Rev. xvii. 12.

As the *great city* signifies the Roman empire considered as one great federal republic: so, by analogy, the "*cities of the nations*" must denote the individual political communities and governments, which are the component parts of that republic. We have already seen the accomplishment of this part of the prophecy, in the fall of nearly the whole of these communities and governments since the year 1792. The government of Austria alone remains on continental Europe, like a solitary column amidst the ruins of the surrounding parts of the edifice.

"And great Babylon came up in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath."—The awful judgments which have fallen upon the catholic clergy, the spoliation of the Romish church in every part of Europe to which the French arms have penetrated, and the seizure of the ecclesiastical state, seem to be the begun fulfilment of this passage.

"And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found."—As the "*cities of the nations*" in the preceding verse signify the political communities and governments of the nations, I know not what can be intended by the "*islands and mountains*," unless it be kingdoms considered in reference to their territorial possessions and their individual existence as separate and independent states. The government of a nation may fall, and still the nation itself may maintain its independence: but when by conquest it becomes the mere appendage of a foreign state, then it ceases to be a symbolical island or mountain; and the mountain or island by which it was

symbolized, is said to flee away. In this sense, the islands or mountains symbolizing the greater part of the states of Europe have fled away since the year 1792.

The other effects of the seventh vial are detailed in the 17th, 18th, and 19th, chapters of the Apocalypse, and are as follows. The bestial empire will assume a new form, preparatory to the gathering together of the beast, and the kings of the earth, and false prophet, to the battle of Armageddon. This form seems to be the rise of ten kings, who have three characteristic marks:—1. They are to receive power *one hour* (*i. e.* a short but indefinite period), with the beast, under his last head: 2. They are to agree with one mind to give their power and strength to the head of the beast; to support him in all his mad and unprincipled enterprizes: 3. In subserviency to his views, they are to hate "*the whore*" and make her desolate and naked, to eat her flesh (riches), and burn her with the fire of divine judgment. Lastly, we discover that it is these ten kings who, in union with the beast in his last head, are to be gathered together to the battle of Armageddon, xvii. 14. It may be safely affirmed, that no one of these characteristic marks is to be found in the ten kingdoms which were seen by Daniel (vii. 7, 20.), and which were afterwards reduced to seven in number (ver. 8.). Nor do these marks answer to the character of any one of the kingdoms of the Roman empire previous to the sounding of the seventh trumpet*.

It will probably occur to the attentive reader, as an objection to the

* The ten kingdoms enumerated by Mr. Faber (vol. ii. 209, 1st edit.) did not receive power with the last head of the beast; their reign was not limited to *one hour*, they did not give their power to the beast, they did not hate "*the whore*," and they did not perish in war against the Lamb. They cannot, therefore, be the kings mentioned in Rev. xvii. Whether any kings be *now* starting into being who answer the Apocalyptic description, I leave it to the reader to determine.

above scheme of interpretation, that since the gathering together of the confederacy to the battle of Armageddon is to take place under the *sixth vial*, it is contradictory to suppose that the confederacy is to be formed under the *seventh vial*. To this I answer, that as the drying up of the waters of the mystic Euphrates is for the purpose of *preparing the way of the kings of the East*, and as the object of the gathering together of the last confederacy to Armageddon is apparently to *oppose the purposes of God with respect to these kings of the East*, there is the greatest beauty and propriety in that gathering together being introduced under the *sixth vial*. On the other hand, the formation of the confederacy is placed under the *seventh vial*; because it is composed of materials which could have no existence, till a mighty revolution was effected in the politico-ecclesiastical constitution of the bestial empire, by the effusion of the vial of wrath on that constitution, i.e. on the symbolical atmosphere. —The above arrangement also is entirely agreeable to the enigmatical form of the Apocalyptic prophecies, and yet introduces no confusion into them.

I beg leave now to offer to your consideration one or two arguments, which have had a very considerable influence upon my own mind, in leading me to adopt the foregoing scheme.

The *seven vials* are the constituent parts of the *seventh trumpet*, and contain all the remarkable events of that trumpet, at least of the woful part of it. But these vials contain only one earthquake (or revolution), viz. that of the seventh vial; and only one symbolical tempest, with its concomitant effects, which is also mentioned in the seventh vial: therefore the seventh trumpet contains only one symbolical tempest and one earthquake; and it follows, that the lightnings, voices, thunderings, earthquake, and great hail, seen by the apostle in Rev. xi.

19, are precisely the same with those seen under the seventh vial. But the symbolical tempest and earthquake of Rev. xi. 19. (which are the same with those of the seventh vial) immediately succeed the opening of the temple of God in heaven, which had previously been shut. And the effusion of the first vial also immediately follows the opening of the temple in heaven, Rev. xv. 5; xvi. 1. Therefore the earthquake of the seventh vial, which is the same with that of Rev. xi. 19, must be synchronical with the effusion of the first vial, since they both equally happen immediately after the opening of the temple.

Again; none will deny that in the year 1792 a most awful political tempest, and a mighty earthquake, began to agitate and convulse the bestial empire. The shocks of this earthquake have continued to succeed each other with increasing rapidity, so as to threaten the utter subversion of civil society. Now it is quite incredible that this earthquake should be *no where* mentioned in the vials: and it is *not* mentioned, unless it be the earthquake of the seventh vial; therefore the conclusion is, that it is *that very earthquake*, and that the seventh vial began to be poured out in 1792.

I have omitted to mention the symbolical hail in Rev. xvi. 21. By that hail, I understand the awful tempest of war which has afflicted Europe since the year 1792, and which now rages in Spain with unabated fury.

So far as I know, the path I have trodden in this paper is new and unexplored; as every commentator whose works I have hitherto seen, adopts the theory of the successive effusion of the vials*. Even, therefore, if the outlines of the above

* If I remember right, Mr. Granville Sharpe forms an exception to this remark. I think that gentleman, in his work on Hebrew Syntax, maintains the contemporaneous effusion of the seven vials.

scheme be right, I may yet have erred in the interpretation of particular symbols; and with this observation I would leave my paper to the attentive but indulgent consideration of the students of prophecy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Oct. 11, 1808.

TALIB.

P.S. I have expressed my concurrence with Mr. Faber's opinion that the German emperor was head of the beast in the year 1792; but I am not sure that I can agree with the learned author, that he was the *septimo-octave head*. I am inclined to think that the revival of the western empire in the person of Charlemagne, was the continuation of the sixth head; and that we now live under the seventh head. If this seventh head should hereafter extend his dominions as far as the limits of the western continental empire of Rome, and should assume the title of emperor of the Romans, then we shall, in every sense, see the beast that *is, and was not, and yet is*. I would here be understood, however, to speak with great caution and hesitation.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

ARCHBISHOP Leighton's Catechism, inserted in your number for September, is certainly a valuable composition, and highly worthy of its excellent author. Still, however, I suppose that we shall be induced, as a general standard of religious instruction, to adhere to our church Catechism, not merely on account of the authority by which it is sanctioned, but of its intrinsic worth, whether viewed in the light of a general compendium, or as containing an admirable commentary on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments. I have been more impressed with this idea by a recent circumstance, which, though it may seem to open upon a new subject, I com-

mit to you, to be announced to your readers or not, as you may judge it of importance.

I was lately consulted by an intelligent young man, who, for the first time, seemed to be awakened to an attention to practical religion, as to the books most proper for him to peruse. I recommended the Scriptures themselves to his special attention; but these, he observed, appeared, from his small acquaintance with them, to take a wide range, and therefore he wished to know, further, if there was any thing in the way of *analysis* or introduction which might enable him to read these with profit. After some pause, I could think of nothing preferable to the church Catechism, a brief exposition of which*, with references to the corresponding texts, I put into his hand, attempting afterwards the few explanatory remarks on the general subject of his inquiry, which I here subjoin. For his sake, however, as well as that of your lay readers in general, who, like me, may have been embarrassed by similar inquiries, I hope some of your professional and experienced correspondents will favour us with their sentiments on this interesting topic of analysis, and introductory assistances to the reading of the Scriptures, as applicable to the common and familiar purposes of instruction; or that you or they would refer us to some approved publication on the subject.

I am, sir, your constant reader,

M. Y.

The analysis of Scripture seems to be no where better given than in our excellent Church Catechism: in it we have the following heads of instruction collected from the Sacred Writings:

I. That man was created in the moral image of his Maker; holy, and consequently happy.

* That printed by Deighton, York (third edition), the work of a lady of known talents and piety.

II. That he was seduced from that state, became a rebel and a transgressor; and his nature having imbibed a polluted taint, it was transmitted down to his posterity.

III. That we, being thus "born in sin," are consequently "the children of wrath," exposed to the divine displeasure, and unfit for the enjoyment of heaven.

IV. That by an arrangement, flowing from the wisdom and mercy of God, (*the effects* of which we can clearly perceive, but the *nature* of which must to us remain a mystery) the eternal Son of God became incarnate, and, in our nature and stead, endured the penalty of suffering due for human offences; so that mercy can now be extended to sinners, consistently with the divine justice and holiness, and is freely offered accordingly.

V. That another fruit of the Redeemer's purchase is, the aids of the Holy Spirit, to render his sufferings efficacious, by leading sinners to repentance, enduing them with saving faith, and changing their affections and will from the love and practice of sin to the love and practice of holiness.

These points of instruction are alluded to generally, and enforced practically, under the head of the "Baptismal Covenant."

The grand doctrines of redemption are detailed under the article of "Christian Faith," in which the Apostles' Creed is stated and expounded.

The obligations of believers, which had been inculcated under the first head, are amplified and explained under that of "Christian Duty," which contains an excellent exposition of the ten Commandments.

The Catechism goes on to remind us of the impossibility of thus repenting, believing, and obeying, by efforts made merely in our own strength, and of the necessity of diligently imploring the aids of divine grace; and under the article of "Prayer," instructs us in the

nature, and assists us in the performance of that important duty, as exemplified in the "Lord's Prayer;" on which prayer a simple and beautiful commentary is added.

Lastly, under the head of the "Christian Sacraments" is set forth the nature and efficacy of those of "Baptism and the Lord's Supper;" the former, as initiating us into the benefits of Christ's redemption, and the latter as ratifying our interest in these benefits, on the supposition of our persevering in that course of repentance, faith, and holiness, to which we became pledged in our infancy by our sureties, and personally by our public profession of religion on our coming to riper years.

This admirable epitome, perused with a reference to the texts of Scripture noted in the various brief expositions of it now in use, will furnish a compendious view of Christian faith and practice, and be found one of the best preparatives to a general perusal of the Holy Scriptures. In these, the important circumstances of the fall and redemption of mankind will be found gradually unfolded by history and prophecy, and elucidated in the form of principles and precepts; but at the same time, in a manner, so little conformed to the rules of human composition, that an inquiring mind, desirous to comprehend the scope and ascertain the connection of the Old and New Testament, and not assisted by some such introductory information as has now been suggested, would probably at first feel itself embarrassed.

The epistolary part of the New Testament may be considered as a key to the Scriptures upon a still larger scale. Being penned after the great events which characterize the Christian system had taken place, it speaks of them with clearness and precision, and may therefore be profitably read before the other parts of the inspired writings. Or should a brief analysis, in the express language of Scripture, be sought for, the most compendious

one will perhaps be found in the eight first and the 12th and 13th chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. That epistle commences with a detailed charge of guilt against all mankind; not only the heathens, who were destitute of the light of divine revelation, but the Jews, who possessed it. The apostle hence goes on to insist (ch. 3. v. 23.) "that *all* have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" and (in verse 24.) that there is but one method of recovery, viz. that of being "justified freely by the grace of God through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ." He insists, that the decent, the regular, and the moral, as well as the dissolute and profane, must, if saved at all, be saved through this medium, as the only one adapted to render the acceptance of sinners into a state of favour and friendship with God, compatible with the divine attributes of justice and holiness; and this the apostle exemplifies in a case supposed to be his own*. He was a moral, nay what might be called a religious character, even before his conversion; but the divine law, when understood by him in its extent and spirituality, as reaching to the thoughts and intents of the heart, instead of furnishing him with the means of self-approbation, and comforting him with hopes of the divine favour, only tended to convince him of his own extreme obliquity and depravity. He points out in the fifth chapter the happy effects of this faith in Christ, as producing inward peace and joy, and exciting and preserving in the soul that hope of eternal felicity in the life to come, which constitutes its grand support under the troubles and sufferings of the present state.

* There is, indeed, some difference of opinion whether St. Paul is here speaking of himself or not, but there is none as to the application of the third chapter of his Epistle to the Philippians, in which he gives nearly the same description of his state and character before and after his conversion.

In chapters 6 and 7, he repels the trite objection (to this day brought forward by ignorant cavillers) against the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith, as being unfriendly to good works, by shewing, that its tendency is the very reverse, and that the fruits of holiness *necessarily* spring out of a heart purified by faith; and in the 8th chapter, he pursues the subject to its consummation in a state of perfect and confirmed holiness and happiness in heaven. The 12th and 13th chapters contain a beautiful summary of Christian duties, depicted as flowing from the liberal spirit of gratitude and filial affection; a disposition meliorated by the growing prospect of the realities of the eternal world, and of the welcome approach of the believer's Saviour and his Judge.

Prepared by these or similar means of introduction, and possessed of simplicity and sincerity of heart, we may go on successfully to explore the contents of the Sacred Writings, every part of which will appear to be in unison with the apostolic specimens here given, and be found profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction "in righteousness."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

WHILE perusing a sermon by an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, entitled "The Nativity of our Lord Tidings of great Joy," I was particularly struck with the loftiness of the conceptions which dictated the following passage; and I was induced, by the consideration of its appropriateness to the season that is at hand, to transcribe it for your use. I do not send it as by any means containing a comprehensive view of the different subjects which ought to occupy the thoughts of the devout Christian, while contemplating that stupendous exhibition of mercy of which it treats; but as suggesting topics well calculated to raise his views of the character of our di-

vine Redeemer, and to excite a more lively strain of grateful adoration to Him, who, "for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate." Should this effect be at all promoted by it, my trouble will be very richly recompensed.

Dec. 3, 1803.

S.

"—Is a messenger of good news embraced with joy? Behold the great Evangelist is come, with his mouth full of news, most admirable, most acceptable:—He who doth acquaint us, that God is well pleased, that man is restored, that *the adversary is cast down*, that paradise is set open and immortality retrieved, that truth and righteousness, peace and joy, salvation and happiness, are descended and come to dwell on earth: He of whom the prophet told, *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings; that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth*: He who doth himself thus declare the drift and purport of his message, *The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord; to comfort all that mourn.*

"Is the birth of a prince by honest subjects to be commemorated with joy? Behold a Prince born to all the world; a Prince undertaking to rule mankind with sweetest clemency and exact justice; a Prince bringing with him all peace and prosperity; in whose days *Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely*; who shall protect us in assured rest and safety; shall secure us from all danger and mischief; shall achieve most gallant and glorious exploits in our behalf; shall vanquish all the enemies of our welfare; shall secure us from the worst slaveries and mischiefs; shall settle

us in a most free and happy state: He who bringeth salvation from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate us; that being delivered from the hands of our enemies, we might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. Now, therefore, it is reasonable to cry out, *Allelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth: let us be glad, and rejoice, and give honour to him.*

"May victory worthily beget exultation? See! the invincible Warrior doth issue forth into the field, conquering and to conquer: He that shall baffle and rattle the strong one, our formidable adversary; that shall rout all the forces of hell, and triumph over the powers of darkness; that utterly shall defeat sin, and slay death itself; that shall subdue the world, and lay all things prostrate at his feet. Behold the Captain of our salvation, arrayed with glorious humility, and armed with a mighty patience. See! the great blow is struck, at which the infernal powers do stagger: the devil's pride and envy are abased: all the enemies are amazed, are daunted, are confounded at his presence: they cannot stand; they break, they scatter, they flee before him.

"Is a proclamation of peace after rueful wars, to be solemnized with alacrity? Behold, then, everlasting peace between heaven and earth, a general peace among men, a sound peace between each good man and himself, are settled and published. The illustrious herald, the noble hostage of them is arrived: the Prince of Peace himself doth bring all peace unto us.

"Is satisfaction of desire, and hope, very pleasant? Behold the Desire of all nations, the Expectation of Israel, He for whom the whole creation groaned, is come.

"Is recovering of liberty delectable to poor slaves and captives? Behold! the Redeemer is come out of Zion: the precious ransom, sufficient to purchase the freedom of many worlds, is laid down. Unblemished

innocence, purity, and perfection, appearing in human nature, have procured a releasement for us; have unlocked the prison of sin, detaining us; have knocked off the shackles of guilt, sorely pinching and galling our consciences; have wrested us from the hands of those proud masters, who claimed a right, who exercised a most tyrannous power over us. He is come, that *proclaimeth liberty to the captives, and opening of the prison to them that are bound.* The time is come of which the prophet foretold: *The ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.*

“Is an overture of health acceptable to sick and languishing persons? Behold, the great Physician, endowed with admirable skill, and furnished with infallible remedies, is come to cure us of our maladies, and ease us of our pains; to bind up our wounds, and to pour in balm (the most sovereign balm of his own blood) into them; to free us, not only from all mortiferous diseases, but from mortality itself:—He who was *sent to bind up and heal the broken-hearted*: He who himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses: He of whom the prophet (in relation to corporal, and much more to spiritual infirmities) did foretell; *God will come and save you: Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing*: He whose art no disease can resist; who is able to cure our most desperate, our most inveterate distempers; to heal the corruption and impotency of our nature; to void the ignorances and errors of our understanding; to correct the stupidity of our hearts, the perverseness of our wills, the disorder of our affections; to mitigate our anguish of conscience, and cleanse our sores of guilt, by various efficacious medicines,—by the wholesome instruc-

tions of his doctrine, by the powerful inspirations of his grace, by the refreshing comforts of his Spirit, by the salutary virtue of his merits and sufferings.

“Is the access of a good friend to be received with cheerful gratulation? Behold! the dearest and best friend of all mankind, most able, most willing, most ready to perform all good offices, to impart wholesome advice, needful and sweet converse, and seasonable conversation, is arrived to visit us, to sojourn with us, to dwell in us for ever.

“Is opportune relief grateful to persons in a forlorn condition, pinched with extreme want, or plunged in any hard distress? Behold a merciful, a bountiful, a mighty Saviour and Preserver, undertaking *to comfort all that mourn*; inviting all such to receive from him a plentiful supply for their needs, a comfortable ease in their pressures, a happy rid-dance from their calamities; who crieth aloud, *If any one thirsteth, let him come to me and drink: Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

“Is the sun-rising comfortable, after a tedious, darksome, and cold night? See! *the Sun of Righteousness is risen, with healing in his wings*, dispensing all about his pleasant rays and kindly influences. *The Day-spring from on high hath visited us*, diffusing an universal light upon the souls of men, whereby the night of ignorance is dispelled, the spectres of error are vanished, the mists of doubt are scattered; whereby we clearly and assuredly discern all truths of importance to us and worthy of our knowledge, concerning the nature and attributes, the works and providence, the will and pleasure of God; concerning ourselves, our natural and original, our duty and interest, our future state and final doom. *Our Light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon us. The Light of the world, the true Light enlightening every man*; by whose lustre *all flesh may see the salvation of God*, and which guideth

our feet into the way of peace, doth visibly shine forth upon us.

“Never indeed did heaven, with so fair and serene a countenance, smile upon earth, as then it did, when this *bright and morning star* did spring up above our horizon, bringing this goodly day; and with it shedding life and cheer among us.

“From this auspicious day did commence the revocation of that fatal curse, by which we were expelled from paradise, adjudged to death, and committed to hell. From thence we became reinstated in a condition of hope, and in a fair capacity of happiness. From thence is to be dated a return of joy into this region of disconsolateness. In this nativity mankind was born, or did revive from manifold deaths, from a legal, a moral, a natural, an eternal death; from lying dead in irreparable guilt, and under an insuperable power of sin; from having our bodies irrecoverably dissolved by corruption, and our souls immersed into that second more ghastly death, of perpetual incurable anguish.

“It is in effect, therefore, the birth-day of the world, the beginning of a new, better, eternal life to men, (offered to all, and effectually bestowed on those who will embrace it) which we now do celebrate. All reason, therefore, have we to rejoice most heartily and most abundantly. As the goods thence accruing to us are in multitude innumerable, in quality inestimable, in duration immense; so in some correspondence should our joy be very intense, very effuse, very stable. The contemplation of them should infuse somewhat of that *unspeakable joy* whereof St. Peter speaketh. We should be *filled with all joy and peace in believing them*. We should *hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope*, grounded on them, *firm to the end*.

“Having so many, so great causes of joy, are we not very stupid, are we not strangely cross and perverse, if we neglect so pleasant a duty?”

CHRIST. OBSERV. No. 24.

ON THE CALLING OF THE GENTILES.

No. IV.

“*Uxto me*,” said the apostle Paul, “who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.” The word gentiles is here emphatical. The grace, the superlative mercy which he celebrates, is that of being appointed an ambassador to the Gentiles, a minister specially charged to gather into the church the outcasts of the heathen world. In the judgment of Paul it was no small privilege to be a Jew, to possess as such the ancient oracles of God, and to be partaker even of that comparatively feeble hope of a resurrection from the dead to which the twelve tribes instantly serving God hoped to come. But he deemed it a greater privilege to be a Christian,—to live in the days of him who was born King of the Jews, to be gathered into his church, to become a spiritual member of his kingdom. Still more exalted was, in his account, the honour of being employed as a minister in this very work, of being an ambassador of Christ, a steward of the mysteries of God, having also grace to be found faithful. But the highest joy of the apostle arose from the thought of his being specially commissioned to go to the heathen world; to declare to them the remission of sins through faith in one common Saviour; to assure them that there was now neither Greek nor Jew; to reveal to them that mystery which had been hid from ages and generations—that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of the promise of Christ by his Gospel.

The heart of true Christians has, in all ages, been accustomed to beat in unison with that of the great apostle of the Gentiles. Worldly minds are cold upon this subject; but “thy kingdom come, thy will be done,” is the never-ceasing prayer of the whole spiritual church:

and the Scriptures afford some joyful hope that this their supplication will at length be answered, "the kingdoms of the world becoming the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ." Earthly kingdoms, as well as that of Christ, aim at their own extension and aggrandisement; but they too often pursue their end by fraud, oppression, and violence; and the enlargement of territory not seldom leads to the diminution of their prosperity and greatness. The empire of Alexander was too vast to be maintained in its integrity; and the too general admission of the people of Italy to the freedom of their metropolis, hastened the downfall of Rome. But the enlargement of our Jerusalem is effected not by deceit or force, but by truth and love; and the augmentation of her citizens is the source of their common prosperity. No place for jealousy is afforded here: there is no limit to the extension of this city of our God.

"Bright as a sun the sacred city shines;
All kingdoms, and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light: the glory of all lands
Flows into her; *unbound* is her joy;
And endless her increase."

The attention of religious men has lately been called in a remarkable degree to those prophetic parts of Scripture which are supposed to speak of the general diffusion of the Gospel of the Son of God. I shall not presume to attempt a particular interpretation of these passages, but shall content myself with observing, that the Scriptures undoubtedly speak, in the most unambiguous language, of the final triumph of our Redeemer; and that the state of the world, however disastrous it may be, seems more and more to indicate that popish as well as heathen darkness will, in due time, be dissipated.

"Six thousand years of sorrow have well
Fulfilled their turn, and darkness came
Over a sinful world; and when
Of this tempestuous state of human things,
Is ready to the working of a sea."

Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest;
For He whose ear the winds are, and the
clouds
The dust that waits upon his sultry march,
When sin hath moved him, and his wrath is
hot,
Shall visit earth in mercy."——

The Mahometan power in Europe is at this time shaken to its foundation: the papal authority is weakened: the Hindoo superstition is laid open to view, and it evidently proves to be less obstinate than we had supposed: Africa is about to be connected with Great Britain, by a more beneficial intercourse: in the West Indies the independent empire of Hayti has arisen; and the great southern continent of America appears likely to enter upon a new career. She, doubtless, will at least maintain a freer communication than heretofore with the more enlightened nations of Europe. Who, that understands the excellency of the Gospel, can fail to cherish an eager hope that its benign rays, when the present wars and desolations shall have had their course, will be more generally diffused? Who can help applying to these various nations, and especially to the long-neglected negro race, that saying of our Lord, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also will I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and they shall be one fold, under one shepherd."

An opinion has unhappily prevailed in many quarters, that it is dangerous and improper to interfere with the religious opinions of any unbelieving nations; and we ought, according to some persons, to guarantee to those who become subject to us the perpetual worship of the very idols to which we find them bowing down. Mean and ungenerous sentiment! erroneous in its very policy, and corrupt and selfish in the extreme! The king of England, according to some of these politicians, ought to nominate protestant bishops in England, popish in Ireland, and the high priests of Jag-

german in Ceylon, or in the East Indies! What truly Christian man would be king upon such conditions! Is there then no difference between the worship of Jehovah, and that of Moloch! Between that of the true God, and of Baal! Do the Scriptures err, in labouring to establish, as they every where do, the immense importance of this distinction! Is not the character of the Deity whom we adore, influential upon practice, and therefore of moment even to the state! These lax sentiments have gained a surprising currency among us. They are the result of a growing spirit of infidelity among the middling and higher orders, which accredits itself under the pleasing name of liberality and religious toleration. Toleration is to be much approved, if we may understand by it a disposition to avoid all use of force in controuling religious opinions; but the spirit of atheistic indifference must not be suffered to conceal itself under this cloak. The same indifference would unquestionably have prevented primitive Christianity from ever achieving even the mildest of its triumphs in the world. Let us hope that the very extravagance to which these sentiments have been pushed by some, will awaken the religious feelings of others, hitherto not sufficiently alive to the eternal difference between truth and error in religion; and let us ourselves aim at that happy union of liberality and zeal, which is the characteristic of the true followers of the Gospel, and the best means of advancing its interests.

But though our rulers should favour, and our richer Christians should encourage, the more extensive propagation of the Gospel; though the distant lands should invite over missionaries, and the fields should seem already white for the harvest; there is also another subject for anxiety. It is much to be apprehended that Europe is herself too much involved in darkness, to

be the instrument of generally, or very effectually, evangelizing the world. How little is the nature of the Gospel understood over many large portions of Christendom; and even in England how much is there to apprehend, and to deplore! Among some, a lukewarm spirit; among others, a partial and narrow view of the Gospel unhappily prevails. Some are running with too much haste—others stand still through defect of zeal. How few unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove! How few sufficiently shine in all Christian virtue to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and to convert the ungodly by the silent efficacy of a holy and unblemished life! “And if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?”

It has been one object of the preceding papers, to diminish the controversial spirit in religion, by presenting a subject of contemplation which might excite piety without stirring up debate; and an attempt has been made to recommend the doctrine of salvation or justification by faith to the favourable consideration of those who may have been led to class it among the tenets of a scholastic and obscure, or of an extravagant and dangerous theology. May it please God to incline us all to lay less stress on matters of doubtful disputation, that we may attend to those of greater moment, and, that abounding in love, we may unite in every good work.

But amidst much defection from the Christian faith, and much infirmity in the religious world, we have reason also to rejoice. Though we have many unbelievers; many sceptics; many treacherous and false Christians; many simple and weak believers, who presume to teach others, while they themselves need to be taught; many, who substitute a temporary fervour, an evangelical profession, or a few doctrinal sayings, for the whole circle of faith and practice; we doubt-

less also have many righteous, and among them many a one, it may be hoped, who

" Armed himself in panoply complete
Of heavenly temper, furnishes with arms
Bright as his own, and trains by every rule
Of holy discipline, to glorious war
The sacramental host of God's elect."

To purify the Christian church, by truly evangelizing its members, and by calling them off at the same time from less profitable debate; by pointing out deficiencies and errors in the reigning religion; by enlarging the common stock of spiritual knowledge; and by mildly and yet continually chastising the religious taste: these, if I do not mistake, are some of the objects of the conductors of the Christian Observer; and it is in the full spirit of a fellow-worker that I have troubled their readers with these papers. Most anxiously do I wish that this miscellany, independent as it appears to be of every religious party, and so liable to various misconcep-

tions on that account, may pursue, in the next year, and with still increasing success, the ends for which it has so industriously and so usefully laboured in the last. In a certain sense, I consider it as occupied in forwarding the great cause of the calling of the Gentiles. On several occasions it has pleaded powerfully for this cause. And it has contributed, as I trust, to remove the prejudices, which some pious but simple men have unconsciously excited among the higher classes, against the communication of evangelical knowledge, both in this and other nations of the earth. May it have increasing success! May its opponents at length understand, that the Gospel which it recommends, is the same which Paul preached, and which Christ died to establish; and that the zeal which it manifests to convert the nations, is the same which animated the great apostle of the Gentiles!

MISCELLANEOUS.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING HAYTI.

(Continued from p. 708.)

Massacre of the French by Dessalines.

RESPECTING that dreadful event, I was very particular in making enquiries; and I found it but too true that the white French, with certain exceptions, were cut off, in consequence of the sanguinary mandate of Dessalines, by the military under his immediate command.

The massacre took place at the Cape, in April 1804; at other places a little earlier. It is needless to add, that this was the only massacre which occurred; although the execution of a few whites, accused of crimes, may have, in one or two instances, given colour to the reports of other events of the same kind.

It is not true that the massacre which did take place at the Cape, in April 1804, was attended with those popular outrages and barbarities (the rapes, impaling of infants, &c.) with which the dreadful deed was aggravated in the accounts published in our newspapers. The act was sufficiently atrocious; but it was strictly a military execution, and was perpetrated systematically, in exact obedience to orders. Neither is it true that any foreigner suffered. On the contrary, Dessalines sent guards to the houses of the American merchants, lest, from mistake, or any other cause, they should have been molested. The French priests, too, and surgeons, and such individuals as, during the war, had manifested humanity to the negroes, were spared, to the amount, accord-

ing to my informant, of about one-tenth part of the whole.

The massacre, in other respects, was indiscriminate, and truly dreadful. Neither age nor sex was regarded. It was horrible to hear Mr. —'s account of it. A strong guard was sent to his house in the evening, with orders not to suffer an individual to enter without Mr. —'s consent, not even one of the black generals; and Dessalines apprised him of these orders, that he might be under no apprehensions. They were so punctually obeyed, that Mr. —, who had given shelter to some unfortunate Frenchmen, was able to protect them to the last.

But his own security did not prevent his feeling it a night of horrors. At short intervals he heard the pickaxe thundering at the door of some devoted neighbour, and soon forcing it; piercing shrieks were almost immediately heard to issue; and these were followed by an expressive silence. The next minute the military party were heard proceeding to some other house to renew their work of death.

Mr. — related one circumstance, new to me, and I believe also to the public, which gives the conduct of Dessalines the character of the most horrible perfidy, as well as cruelty, and which seems to place him, extremity of provocation apart, on a level even with Bonaparte. A proclamation was published in the newspaper, declaring that the vengeance due to the crimes of the French had been sufficiently exacted, and inviting all those who had escaped the massacre to appear on the parade, and receive tickets of protection; after which they might depend on perfect security.

As the massacre had been expected, many hundreds had contrived to secrete themselves, most of whom now came forth from their hiding places, and presented themselves on the parade. Instead of receiving the promised tickets of protection, they were instantly led

away to the place of execution, and shot. Mr. — said, he saw the rivulet which runs through the town literally red with their blood.

Mr. — regarded this enormous transaction clearly as the act of Dessalines alone. In every town in which the massacre took place, it was perpetrated by his immediate order. Till he arrived at the successive scenes of blood, not a life was taken away. Indeed, he avowed and boasted of it as his own act, in the proclamations which have reached this country. Christophe was known to disapprove of the measure, but durst not openly oppose it. Telemaque and another officer expressed their horror at it, which coming to Dessalines' ears, he punished them, by compelling them to hang, with their own hands, two Frenchmen then in the fort.

This ferocious chief repeatedly talked with Mr. — on the subject of the massacre, after its perpetration; and I think the uneasiness of his conscience may be inferred from the pains he took to defend or extenuate the crime. "I owe (he would say on these occasions) an account of my conduct to no one. But why do your countrymen accuse me? Bonaparte has done much more, and yet you call him a great man." He then spoke of the enormity of the conduct of the French during the war, and dwelt particularly on the foul ingratitude and perfidy of the return made for the protection of the white inhabitants under Toussaint, the execution of Moise and his confederates for their sakes, &c. He said, that he knew while these treacherous men lived in the island, it would be a motive for the French to renew their attempts upon it; and that the return they would make for his protection would be to join his enemies, as soon as they should effect a landing; and in the mean time they were no better than spies on his conduct, and on the state of the island.

What was more material, if true, and Mr. — believed it to have

been so, was a charge made against the French by Dessalines, of their having carried on a traitorous correspondence with their countrymen in Cuba. He asserted that he had intercepted their letters.

All this, however, it is obvious could not justify nor extenuate an extra-judicial military execution—much less the slaughter of children.

Dessalines further and chiefly used to urge the necessity of satisfying his troops by the death of those, by whom their fathers, children, and friends, had been cruelly murdered; for he seems to have regarded the French massacres and executions, as the work of the white French at large; and I fear there was too much ground for the opinion. He had promised his troops, as an encouragement to their bravery in the siege of Cape François, the plunder of the town, and the destruction of the monsters within it; and they were discontented, as he alleged, with the breach of that engagement.

It does not seem to have entered into his mind, that his subsequent promises to the unhappy people in question were a bar to this defence; but can we wonder that a solemn and sacred compact should have been disregarded by this illiterate negro, after the examples given to him by Le Clerc, Rochambeau, Bonaparte, and the government of France? He seemed to value himself on retaliating on them their own maxims, and forming a contrast to what he regarded as weakness in Toussaint.

Mr. — was of opinion, that the desire of gratifying the troops with the confiscated property of the victims was, in reality, a great inducement to the massacre; but did not suppose that the troops would have wished for the vengeance which their chief connected with it, had he himself been at all disposed to mercy. Dessalines, he believed, thought the destruction of the French the shortest and most convenient course to the possession of

their property, which seems to have been considerable.

Cultivators.

I was naturally also very inquisitive respecting the state of the cultivators, and their treatment. I could discover no difference in either from the system of Toussaint. They worked for wages: the pay being one-fourth of the produce.

Provisions of all kinds were abundant: there was no whip, not even for punishment; it was totally discarded. Idleness was treated as a crime, but the punishment was confinement only. They worked in general very regularly and contentedly, perhaps about two-thirds as much as formerly. Mr. — said at first as much as ever, but corrected himself. He did not know what the labour ordinarily is in a sugar colony. It was expected that the cultivators should work on the estates to which they were formerly attached; but if they had any good reason for changing, the commissary, or commanding officer of the district, gave them leave. Most of the estates were in the hands of government, as confiscated, but were let at an annual rent. They were commonly valued for that purpose, according to the number of cultivators attached to them, without respect to the land. All mulattoes and mustees, who could trace any relationship, though of course illegitimate, with the old white proprietors, were admitted as heirs to their estates. The mustees, or children of whites and mulattoes, are very numerous.

Produce.

The sugar estates having been mostly destroyed, and the necessary works and buildings for its manufacture not having been rebuilt, very little sugar was made. The chief produce was coffee: the crop of 1805 exceeded thirty millions of pounds, which would load about fifty ordinary ships. This quantity was expected to increase at least ten per

cent. each year. There was also plenty of mahogany and other valuable timber in the island.

Population and Military Force.

A census was taken in 1805, and the returns were about 380,000, to which Mr. — thought that at least 20,000 should be added for such as from dispersion, or other causes, were not included in the returns; so that the whole population might be considered as about 400,000. Of this, the adult males were said to constitute too small a proportion. The slaughter had chiefly fallen upon them. Women and children abounded. The women were the chief cultivators in point of numbers. Marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the Roman-catholic church, was almost universal, and its duties were, on the whole, tolerably well observed. Christophe set a good example in this respect; but Dessalines was licentious. Mr. — did not doubt that the population would very rapidly increase, if not checked by new wars and convulsions, which, unhappily, has been the case.

The regular army of Dessalines comprised fifteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were cavalry. They were well disciplined and armed, but badly clothed: they had had but one new suit since the expulsion of the French. The uniform is blue, turned up with red.

In addition to this force, all, or almost all, the adult males fit for service, are trained as a militia, there being, for that purpose, four regular times of exercise in a year; during which, they are embodied for several days. Dessalines said they amounted to sixty-five thousand, whom he could call out in case of necessity. Other chiefs estimated them at forty-five thousand: so that, taking the lowest estimate, their whole force might be said to be sixty thousand men, regular and irregular. The destruction of the male population, if this estimate was correct, must have been dread-

ful; for there could not have been in S. Domingo less than from 200,000 to 250,000 adult males at the time of the revolution in 1791, and many must have since grown up to be men. Bruce and others are probably right, who hold that more females than males are born in hot climates, especially among the negroes; though they undoubtedly carry the fact, which they use as an excuse for polygamy, too far. From the wonderful conservatory resources of our nature, polygamy I apprehend to be rather the cause than the effect of this disproportion; and, I have no doubt, if the negroes adhere to monogamy in S. Domingo, that the evil, if it now exists, will soon cease.

Mr. — did not estimate the loss of males at above one hundred thousand; but, I believe, he spoke of the effects of Le Clerc's invasion, and did not include the slaughter which took place in the first revolutionary wars. He also thought that the greater part of the loss had been by emigration. This evil, since the expulsion of the French, it had been the anxious care of Dessalines to prevent. The severest penalties were denounced against those who should take any citizen of Hayti from the island; and he acquiesced in the conduct of our cruizers, who would not suffer the vessels belonging to the island to go beyond certain limits from the shore, because he found it greatly conducive to that important object. The Haytians have many coasters and armed vessels, which carry on the communication between different parts of the island; and Mr. — imputed their not having been active in depredations on the Spanish commerce to the course pursued by our ships of war, which indeed affords a sufficient explanation. The French cruizers likewise kept a watchful eye over them; and whenever any of the vessels or boats belonging to the island were seized, the negroes on board were immediately put to death; so that the

French continued to act on their barbarous, exterminatory plan. I have learned, from another quarter, that they often treat even British and American negroes, found on board the vessels of which they make prize, in the same manner.

I asked Mr. — whether it was true that Dessalines had proposed, in negotiations with a British agent, that we should supply him with slaves? He gave the following explanation of the report:—Dessalines, finding his adult male population so dreadfully reduced, that, in the event of a new contest for freedom, he might not have hands enough to defend it, looked around on all sides for the means of recruiting his army. He invited all refugees to return, with a full assurance of amnesty; and offered a premium of forty dollars, in addition to the passage-money, for every negro landed in the island, from America or elsewhere. But, in treating with the agent from Jamaica, he thought of a more effectual plan, by opening his ports to our slave-ships. It was, however, expressly for the importation of men only; and these not for slavery (in the present state of the island the notion is truly preposterous), but for military service. They were immediately to be enrolled among his regulars, the most ardent defenders of the liberty of their race, and whose attachment to that cause is the necessary safeguard, not only of his power, but his life. To say, therefore, that Dessalines wished to buy slaves, is more false and injurious than it would be to say that our commanders-in-chief, who raised the black corps in the West Indies by purchase, were slave-traders.

Mr. — had more than one conversation with Dessalines on this subject, and told him he thought the plan wrong, as it might be construed into an encouragement of the slave trade. But the black chief defended it, by observing that so many men would be brought from Africa, whether he adopted the

measure or not; and that, instead of doing them any harm, his plan would save them from a dreadful slavery in the English islands, to make them freemen and soldiers. He wanted them not to increase the number of slaves in the West Indies, but to defend the liberty of Hayti.

It will surely be admitted, that the doctrine of expediency never was favoured by a stronger case.

(To be continued.)

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I suppose, that as Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, confessed the fact, there can be no doubt of it, that all men "are pilgrims upon earth.*" When I first settled this point in my own mind, I confess I much wanted to know what a "pilgrim" meant. The first Roman-catholic writer I chanced to read soon put me out of doubt; and I found that the pilgrims of that church were men who, burdened with the weight of some particular offence, usually set out on some long journey, to shew their penitence, and to lay down their sin on the altar of some celebrated saint. Now, barring the saint, this account gave me a full idea of a patriarchal or Christian pilgrim. A pilgrim, said I to myself, must be a serious, devoted character; he must feel life to be a journey, heaven his home; must expect and endure cheerfully many crosses on his way; must keep his eye fixed upon another world; and think and say and do all which may best fit him to dwell in it for ever. Such was my notion of a true pilgrim, and such did I expect to find all the world.

Judge then, sir, of my astonishment, when, upon being pretty early ushered into life, I saw around me gambling pilgrims, swearing pilgrims, coquetting pilgrims; thoughtless, idle, riotous, proud, quarrelsome, pilgrims. You, sir, seem to me to be so wise, that I dare say you

* Vide Epistle to the Hebrews.

never were upon the horns of a dilemma; but I do assure you that I, who am much accustomed to this position, was never half so tossed as upon making this discovery. I had no choice but between these two conclusions; either the patriarchs did not know what they themselves were, or the Roman-catholics did not know what a pilgrim is: neither of which suppositions was at all reasonable. And I verily believe I should have been baited or gored to death by this time, if I had not lighted upon the following story, well known to you, I doubt not, as every thing else seems to be, but which I shall tell for the sake of your more ignorant readers.

Two good catholics, in order to expiate some crying sin, had been commanded by their priest to visit the lady of Loretto—a visit of five hundred miles—having their shoes, by way of penance, *well crammed with peas*. The obedient pilgrims stuffed in their peas, and set out on their pilgrimage. One of them, a true son of the church, before he had gone a league, fell to the ground with anguish; but his pain almost yielded to his astonishment, when he saw his fellow pilgrim trudge on with a firm step and gay countenance. "Brother," said he, "thy conscience, I trust, is tender, but certainly thy feet are not; for common flesh and blood could not endure those *flinty peas*." "*Peas*, brother," replied the other, with great calmness, "are no longer *flinty*, if thou boilest them."

Now, sir, this story, as I said, has given me a key to all my difficulties; and there is not a case of modern Christian pilgrimage which I do not try to unlock by it.

For instance, when I see a member of parliament, who, instead of taking the burden of thinking for himself, lets the minister, or some factious demagogue, think and vote for him; who, instead of well handling an argument, handles nothing but a place or a pension; and whose arduous situation therefore seems to cost him neither sighs nor

thought, nor, indeed, any thing but the original purchase-money;—I say of that member of parliament, "*he boils his peas*."

Or, if I see a critic passing over what he calls the "*nicer shades of lunacy* *;" in other words, neglecting the most important distinctions, where the most solemn results hinge upon them; confounding classes which have scarcely a single point of resemblance—the lawless enthusiast in a tub with one who "*commands listening senates, and has emancipated half a globe*;" substituting assertion for proof, and ridicule for discussion; and whose review, therefore, costs him nothing but forgetfulness and invention;—I am obliged to say of such a critic, "*he boils his peas*."

Or again, if I see a clergyman, whose church and its pastor are always at different points of the compass; who, sleek himself, does all his work by an ill-conditioned skin-and-bone proxy; whose few sermons are all furnished by "*the great dry-nurse and caterer of the church*;"—I say of him also, "*he boils his peas*."

Or, if I see a professor of religion very clamorous about doctrines, and very indolent in practice; as proud in his language and manner to his fellows as he is lowly in his expressions and acts of penitence before God; eagle-eyed towards the faults of others, but purblind to his own; scolding as often as praying; boasting of his communion with God, but too cross for any man to hold communion with him:—Here again I am obliged to say, "*this man boils his peas*."

Or, if I see a man defending the inspiration of his Bible, but disregarding all its precepts; studious about forms in religion, but negligent of its power; trusting by Sunday gravity to wipe out the sins of the week; esteeming a cold, lifeless, unprepared participation of the sacrament, a counterbalance for a

* Vide Edin. Rev.—Rev. of Ingham.

life of disobedience ;— here, say I, “ *the peas are boiled indeed.*”

Now, sir, although I know that it is bad philosophy to conclude a theory to be true because it solves some otherwise puzzling phenomena ; still I intend to think mine right till you send me a better ; till you explain how men can slide from under the most solemn obligations without a blush ; can carry a heavy yoke without an effort ; can turn the most serious tasks into trifles ; can be idle and at ease in a state where there is so much to do, and so short a time to do it in ; can triumph without fighting ; can win the race without running it ; can cast away humility, and penitence, and self-denial, when every step of our pilgrimage is so “ *hedged up with thorns.*” In short, as you value your own reputation, and my peace, I call upon you to answer one, at least, of these queries :—Were the patriarchs mistaken ?—Or is a pilgrim a man who may do just what he pleases ?

PILGRIM.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.
Mr. Editor,

I do not profess to be one of those who spend the whole, or even the greater part of their time, in reading such works as Mr. Beresford's *Miseries of Human Life* : and indeed I entirely agree with you, that it is not exactly the kind of work by which a *clergyman* should be distinguished as an author. If, however, a *layman* should venture to adopt something of the same style, in filling a sheet on a very important subject, I hope none of the grave company of Christian Observers, nor you yourself, Mr. Editor, the gravest of the grave, will be disposed to treat him with undue severity. Under this impression, I am emboldened to present to the consideration, and, it may be, the application (which is always the most important point, meaning, by the term, self-application), of your readers, some of the *Miseries of Book-lending*. The mi-

series of book-making, and of book-selling, and sometimes of book-buying, are well known, and frequently lamented : but those of book-lending are a source of sufferings perhaps equally severe ; and the lamentations excited by them, though not loud, are deep. My character and connexions, Mr. Editor, place me very much within the sphere of these complaints ; and, I can assure you, that many are the sighs and groans, drawn from the inmost soul of the sufferers, which I have been compelled to hear, with an aching heart, and perhaps, I may add, sympathetic feelings, for long-detained, lost, and injured books. I will trespass upon the time and patience of you and your readers, to attend to a few only of the miseries endured upon this interesting subject.

Misery I. Your friend begs the favour *just* to borrow a small volume, which you have, and he does not wish to buy himself. After having expected the return of it, at due intervals, for a space of time, which, without calculation, you know to be much beyond a year ; and after feeling considerable terrors, lest your emigrated duodecimo should have been naturalized in the library, or family school-room, where it has so long resided,—to be reduced, at length, to the delicate and formidable task of constructing a *hint*, at once so *gentle* as not to offend, and yet so *broad* as to bring back your book.

II. The foregoing hint *given*,—but not *taken*.

III. An acquaintance, not remarkable for the powers of reminiscence, keeps your book time enough to alarm or incommode you. By not merely broad hints, but by explicit and repeated expositions of the state of the case, and of your wishes, you oblige him to recollect that he has in his possession a book which belongs, not to him, but to you : he accordingly returns it, with many apologies for its having *slipped his memory*. You lend again, and it slips his memory again ; and all the consolation that

remains to you is, that you find a subject to which you may apply that sweet-flowing line,

"*Latitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*"

IV. After many inquiries for a book which you had lent, you at last find, that it is *lost*. The person who borrowed it of you, lent it to somebody else,—he forgets who.

V. A set of books lent, and returned:—one volume missing, for which the borrower apologizes most pathetically: he *hopes*, however, to find it. *His* hope is *your* despair.

VI. Your friend, who belongs to the sect of the Thalamists *, loves reading in bed: and your book, besides the various dislocations which it experiences in such an awkward situation, stands an enviable chance of receiving, and at length has the good fortune actually to receive, the whole overcharged contents of the snuffers; and although they are discharged, with the puff of an *Æolus*, from the open page to the bed-side carpet, a wreck is left behind, which, upon the re-closure of the volume, is ground to an impalpable powder; and, by some efforts of the finger to remove it, expanded into a jetty surface of considerable extent.

VII. Another friend, who is likewise a borrower, is fond of accompanying his breakfast with reading, and your book comes in for that honour. A piece of hot roll, saturated with liquid butter, makes its transit in a line directly vertical to the expanded pages; and the reader, or eater, or rather both, meaning perhaps to give the book that *unction* which it does not itself possess, by a gentle pressure causes a few soft drops to distil in the passage; or the alternate apprehension of the oleaginous nutriment, and the necessary evolution of the leaves, produce a beautiful specimen of mottled *transparency*.

VIII. Your book, which is embellished with a variety of exquisite plates, is lent to a friend, who has a large family of children. A morn-

* Christ. Observ. vol. for 1804, p. 408.

ing is appointed for viewing the pictures, and the mother with her family is placed in a semicircle round the table. As the object, in such a state of things, cannot be seen from precisely the same point of view by all; a little urchin, just big enough to do mischief, and not big enough to be under discipline, situated at one of the terminating points of the crescent, and eager to have under his own immediate inspection what all the rest are admiring, caring as little as he understands about the laws of mechanics, makes a vigorous snatch at the unfolded plate, and attains his object, by getting it just in the situation he wished; but the ponderous quarto is left behind. You become acquainted with the calamity, only to suggest to your mind some grave reflexions on the ill effects of the want of domestic discipline, and to put you in the distressing state of doubt felt by the poet,

"*Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?*"

IX. A set of splendid volumes, full of beautiful coloured engravings, and bound in morocco, sent by the coach to a friend; but packed with such strength and compactness, that they might be thrown over a house without injury:—sent back again, by the same conveyance, with a slight, careless covering of brown paper, having travelled in very intimate neighbourhood with a parcel of red herrings, upon whose yielding substance they have been pressed by the superincumbent weight of a lid, well loaded with passengers, that would just shut. The saline moisture has communicated to the precious volumes a hue and a fragrance which they will never lose. An additional comfort, in this case, is, that it will afford the opportunity of another classical allusion,

"*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem*

Testa diu ———."

'Tis a great pity, prosody will not permit the *var. lect.* of *imbutas* for *imbuta*, and *liber* for *testa*.

But, Mr. Editor, I am too great a friend to the human race, and particularly to my brother book-worms, to state such miseries, without at the same time proposing the best antidotes which occur to me.

I would accordingly first address myself to the borrowers, who are the offending party, and earnestly recommend it to them, as they value the interests of learning, the peace of learned men, and their own credit, to inculcate upon themselves, with redoubled diligence, the duties of moderation, care, and honesty; and particularly to cultivate the faculty of *memory*; which they will find to be useful in many instances. It were likewise much to be wished, that they would employ one particular day in the year in a careful scrutiny of their library, that they may satisfy themselves whether or not there be any stray volume detained prisoner, for the return of which the owner is sighing or groaning, in hopeless despair. In that case, let it be instantly restored. It would not be amiss, for those who have rather extensive libraries of their own, to make a catalogue of their books; an expedient which, while it answered other important purposes, would assist them in *distinguishing* their own books from those of other people. And, in this case, with a little alteration of the adage, we may say, "*Qui bene distinguit, bene agit.*"

To the lenders I would recommend, by way of antidote, to arm themselves with inexhaustible patience, and illimitable resignation. If they will listen to my advice, they will never lend a book without considering it as given: for this reason, they should never, according to my view of things, lend a single volume of a set of books by itself, but insist upon the borrower's taking them all. By this means, the lender extricates himself from the vexatious apprehension of breaking a set, which is as bad, nearly, if not

entirely, as losing the whole; and, by putting an object in possession of his friend which occupies more of the field of view in the eye of his conscience, it is less likely to be overlooked or neglected.

Another expedient, which might be adopted with success, is, for the lender, particularly before he commits his volume to a suspicious person, to write his name in it with obtrusive legibility. He might, likewise, add a significant motto: such as—for I cannot recollect a classical one—*Accipe, lege, redde*. I remember having heard the following scriptural one suggested, "The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again."

I will conclude with another expedient, of which I must be honest enough to confess I am not the author, and that is, that, when your book has been absent an unreasonable length of time, you should, in your turn, borrow of the detainer a book of his, of equal or greater value. By this mean, either he will be reminded of his neglect, or you will have a hostage in your possession: besides that, it may give you the opportunity of a neat and inoffensive piece of raillery, when, under colour of confessing your own neglect, you may pleasantly tell your friend that you have kept his Pliny almost as long as he has kept your Homer. This will probably get your Homer out of prison.

Having thus, Mr. Editor, unboresomed myself so freely upon a subject which goes very near my heart, in order to vindicate my own intentions, and to set the minds of those of your readers at rest, who, knowing themselves to be guilty, may suspect a personal design, I beg leave, in the close, to declare, that my aim has not been directed against any individual offender in particular, but, in general, against all; and that it would give me much more pleasure to see all mend, than any single one.

Yours, &c.

BENJAMIN BOOKWORM

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Review of Zeal without Innovation.**(Continued from p. 741.)*

THE next section of this interesting work is on the important subject of the increase of separatism. "Here (says our author, speaking of the places of worship of the separatists) 'the officiating minister has not half-empty pews to harangue, but a crowded auditory.'—'It cannot be denied, that with all the fanaticism charged on them (and, it is to be feared, with great truth in some instances), many a profligate has been reclaimed, and much good done among the lower orders.' Hence, says he, many, without adverse intention to the church, have, 'in the simplicity of their hearts, concurred in forwarding the endeavours of the separatists.'" "To some good men, free from all prejudice against the church, it is matter of no regret that the number of separatists increase; provided there be, with this circumstance, an increasing regard to Christianity. With such persons, all consideration of terms and modes of worship is sunk in the greater importance of genuine faith and piety. But it enters not into their thoughts, that 'tares may spring up with the wheat,' and that what at present has a good effect, may operate to the production of something hereafter of a very different nature." He then goes on to remark, that the bulk of every newly raised congregation of separatists is composed of persons educated within the pale of the church, who are henceforward broken off from the establishment; and that the number of these successive detachments is becoming so great, as to be likely "to render it again a question with those in power, whether the church of England shall any longer have the support of the state." The church, he proceeds to argue, which

is thus forsaken and endangered, will, "by the sound doctrine which its instituted forms express, be, as long as it stands, a witness to the truth, in periods the most barren of ministerial qualification; a rallying point to all truly Christian pastors;" while separatism having no fixed character, though sound doctrine may now be heard in its chapels, there is "no security that they will not become the schools of heresy." "Here, if the licentious teacher get a footing, he moulds the whole system of ministration to his views; not a prayer, not a psalm, not a formula of any kind, but in this case will become the vehicle of error." "The tendency," he adds, "of all societies to degenerate, should be considered. That which is of a heavenly nature does not always pass to their successors; and when it does, it is seldom without some diminution of its spirit and vigour. But inferior qualities are less volatile." The church, he farther and very justly observes, is favourable to monarchy; the constitution of our dissenting congregations, to democracy. Every new licence for a dissenting place of worship has a civil operation. He then adverts, in language not a little strong, to that evil of lay-preaching to which the dissenting system leads; "a thing," says he, "unexampled in every state in Europe, except ours; and in every age, here as well as elsewhere, till the usurpation of Cromwell; when, among other foul births, this monster was produced."

"Here," says he, "we find men 'plunged to the hilt' in secular business, employed from Monday morning to Saturday evening in the lowest occupations, with neither books, leisure, nor even inclination for acquiring knowledge, assuming on a Sunday the office of teachers; and, in this office, not confining themselves within the limits of some obvious

truths, but attempting to play the theologian, by entering on subjects on which profound learning, and patient investigation, have toiled in vain. Here, instead of the good sense, the simplicity, the lowly consciousness of defective endowment, the evident manifestation of undissembled piety and kindness, we often recognize conceit, impudence, rashness, violence, and not unfrequently an irreverent familiarity with sacred things, that borders on impiety."—He concludes, "what a state of things, then, have we before us! An excellent church establishment, instituted by the highest authority in the state, interwoven with the constitution, fed by the learning of two justly celebrated universities, and extending its provisions to every parish in the kingdom, and yet the mere form of godliness scarcely visible in many parts of the land. The services of that church, which, for the purity of her doctrine and worship, was heretofore considered, not by those only of her communion, but by learned foreigners, as the glory of the reformation, very generally forsaken; and nothing of any considerable extent to set against this indifference toward religion, but an earnestness in this cause accompanied with many objectionable circumstances." "To perceive," he adds, "*who they are*, that carry the day, is surely an affecting sight." "Return, we beseech thee, O God of Hosts! look down from heaven, and behold and visit *this* time."

There is much general justice in these observations, and the subject is of unspeakable importance. We certainly appear to be advancing, and with a continually accelerated pace, to the brink of that precipice of which this writer endeavours to forewarn us. The influence of the established church diminishes, while that of separatism increases. Our rulers, indeed, are some of the last persons who will pass over to the dissenters; and they are therefore not likely to encourage any attack upon the establishment. Public opinion, however, may eventually turn the scale against it; and whenever it shall fall, we shall lose our chief security for the maintenance of sound doctrine, even though we should retain for a time sound doctrine itself. We wish the alarm, therefore, to be given in that manner in which this writer has sound-

ed it. *The church is in danger*, and it is endangered by the causes which he has exposed. Sound doctrine is in danger, and it is endangered, as he says, by some even of those who are the most zealous for the assertion of it. We confess, however, that we are disposed to qualify many of his observations in this chapter, and to suggest, in particular, that when he charges certain zealots for sound doctrine with being the eventual overthrowers of it, he should be careful not to give too broad an interpretation to his paradox, nor to press too severely this part of his accusation. The half-churchmen will reply, and some dissenters may say with them, "we are for inculcating sound doctrine among the existing generation; we are for making sure, in this respect, of some present good; and we are willing to risk the evil which you describe. One of our actual converts to the truth, is worth ten of your possible ones. The church may fall, even though we should follow your exhortation to give no countenance to dissenters. It may survive, though we should not follow it. In the mean time, by converting men to the truth, souls are saved. The evil which you prognosticate, may at least be distant. The church may endure for one hundred, two hundred, or even five hundred years. The millennium may come before the time is quite ripe for the accomplishment of your melancholy predictions. In the mean while, the seed which we sow is likely to produce much present fruit, and even some perhaps in endless progression. We would sow it in the establishment, if we could; but the opportunity is not afforded us. We will therefore scatter it in all barren places; the winds of heaven may possibly waft some of it hereafter into the church itself. The establishment, for aught we know, may benefit, in some future time, through the indirect influence of our exertions."

We do not mean to affirm that

this reasoning, any more than that of our author, embraces the whole subject; nor can we at present undertake fully to discuss it. The general sentiment which we entertain, and we are deliberate and steady churchmen, is this:—The revival of religion is, in our judgment, a matter of much *more* satisfaction, when it takes place in the church, than when it takes place out of it; because we think, that, in the church, religion is usually of a better quality, and less easily evaporates into enthusiasm, or degenerates into absurdity and extravagance. It becomes associated with the articles and liturgy of the establishment: it adjusts itself, in some measure, by these excellent models; conforms, as to its exterior, to the sober ritual prescribed; partakes of the catholicism and moderation of the church; and acquires something even of the same steadiness and permanence. The higher gentry of England follow the establishment of their country. The English dissenter, therefore, preaches chiefly to the middling and lower orders: he is dependent upon these; and he is consequently under a strong temptation to adapt his religion to their taste, which is somewhat coarse and inclined to extremes. The church minister, on the other hand, inasmuch as he addresses the whole population of his parish, finds the prejudices of the high operate as a counterpoise to those of the low. He stands between the learned and the unlearned; between the rich and the poor; between those who are sunk in religious ignorance, and those who are lifted up with enthusiasm or spiritual conceit. He is at the same time independent of them all. Now a state of subjection to the opinion of the many is one chief source of the corruption of religion in the same manner as of true taste. “Our modern authors,” said an ingenious writer of the last century, “are modelled, as they confess, by the current humour of the times. It is the bookseller that

makes the author, and the audience the poet;” he might have added, that makes also the divine. It was not thus, he observes, that the early writers in Greece acted. “Those generous spirits, who first essayed the way, had not always the world on their side; but they drew after them the best judgments, and soon afterwards the world itself. They formed their audience, refined the public ear, and guided it aright; and, in return, they have themselves been rightly and lastingly applauded. They have justice done them to this day. They have survived their nation, and still live, though in a dead language; and the more the age is enlightened, the more they shine. But the moderns regulate themselves by the irregular fancy of the world; and, in order to accommodate themselves to the age, are preposterous and absurd.” In treating afterwards of preachers who are not subject to any due controul, “it is no wonder,” he says, “that some of these quaint practitioners grow to an enormous size of absurdity.” We by no means wish generally to charge the present race of dissenters with any great extravagance. We deem them, however, to be in considerably more danger of deviating, in a variety of ways, than the ministers of the church; and we should be filled with apprehension for the credit of religion, if its cause were exclusively in their hands. The standard set by pious ministers in the church, attracts the attention, and regulates the conduct, of many of the dissenting body; and prevents that degradation of religion, which, but for this influence, might take place.

But though for these, and other important and obvious reasons which might be added, we contemplate with much more pleasure the manifestation of piety in the church than out of it, we beg leave also explicitly to state, that we consider every conversion of an irreligious or merely nominal Christian, who

may have enrolled himself a member of the church, into a *truly* pious separatist, to be on the whole very far from a matter of regret. "It cannot be denied," says the pious author of the work before us, "that many a profligate has been reclaimed by the dissenters." Is this fact true? Has sin been lessened by them? Our author has been setting forth the evil of separatism. But how much greater is the evil of profligacy? Who can calculate all its effect, on the individual and on the public; on our civil liberties and on our political constitution; on the present as well as on many a succeeding generation? The piety of this writer is manifestly such, that we have no doubt of his agreeing with us in these sentiments. We wish, however, that he had expressed them as clearly and fully as we have done. "Many," says he, in the passage already quoted, "without adverse intention to the church, have in the simplicity of their hearts concurred in forwarding the endeavours of the separatists." We submit to him, that the passage may be so construed as to imply, that, in his judgment, we ought never to concur, in any degree whatever, in forwarding the endeavours of the men of that body. That there ought to be much caution in this respect, and that the simplicity of some well-intentioned churchmen misleads them in the point in question, we are most ready to agree. But *how far* a churchman ought to carry his concurrence, "in forwarding" any benevolent or truly religious "endeavours of the separatists," is a matter of difficulty: it must in general be determined, as we conceive, by the special circumstances of the case. The quotations which we have made from the work before us, both in our present and former number, appear to us calculated to lead the reader to think, that, in the judgment of the author, a clear and broad line may easily be drawn; and, undoubtedly, the line is easily marked, if *all* concurrence in the religious endeavours

of separatists is prohibited. But can this writer mean to be thus strict? Every degree of concurrence may certainly tend, more or less directly, to the increase of their numbers. But must we not sometimes risk a little of this evil, for the sake of some great or certain good? May not vice and sin be so materially lessened; may not also mutual charity be so much promoted, by a co-operation in certain cases, as to afford ample compensation for the degree of aid which may be given to the general dissenting cause. "To some good men, though professed members of the church," says our author, "it is matter of no regret that separatists increase." Doubtless there exists in many quarters a blameable indifference on this subject. Yet must it not be allowed, that the degree of regret which is felt by churchmen, in contemplating the increase of dissenters, ought to vary according to circumstances; and even that cases may be supposed, (such cases, we believe, almost daily occur,) in which the addition made to the dissenting body, by means of persons reclaimed from infidelity and vice, or awakened to a serious sense of religion, cannot fail to prove a source of satisfaction to every Christian. He might rejoice more, for reasons already stated, if the good were effected by means of churchmen; but still he must rejoice that it has been accomplished. To state exactly, therefore, the degree of regret which is reasonable, or the degree of concurrence which is allowable, constitutes the difficulty of the case.

We will now endeavour to shew the nature of this difficulty, and to explain ourselves a little more than our author has done upon the present point. — Is a *church minister* asked to subscribe to the building of a dissenting chapel? Many dissenters themselves probably would acknowledge that he would do a most unseemly thing, in contributing from his income (from the very tithes which he receives as a

servant of the church) towards such an object. This case is therefore very clear.—Is a *lay member of the church* requested to contribute to the same object? To assist as a matter of course, in such erections, would, in our humble judgment, be a considerable impeachment of *his* true churchmanship. We say, nevertheless, that there are some places in this country so manifestly excluded, by their very locality, from the benefit of the services of the church; and others, we must add (and these not a few), so deplorably circumstanced, that, until at least some remedy is applied to the evil, we dare not pronounce universally, or even too generally, against such contributions. They may tend to support the public worship of God, in the only manner in which, under the existing circumstances, it is found practicable to do it in certain districts; and yet even the smallest and most temporary subscription of this kind, in the most excepted case, would be a manifest concurrence “in forwarding the endeavours of the separatists.”—Is a churchman solicited to contribute in the way of annual subscription to a dissenting clergyman? The case is somewhat similar to the former, though a little less strong. We therefore, *in general*, pronounce against it.—Is he asked to make a donation to a dissenting minister, under some temporary pressure? The objection is much diminished.—Is he desired to bestow some money among the poor, or to distribute some Bibles, or religious books, through the hands of dissenters? Grants of this kind may favour the dissenting interest; and the instrumentality of a churchman is therefore, in our judgment, much to be preferred. But if a zealous and proper agent who is of the establishment be totally wanting, a dissenter may surely be sometimes resorted to through the urgency or necessity of the case. Here the objection is somewhat less than in the preceding instance.—Shall the widow of a dissenting clergyman be

relieved? Shall an annuity be bought for her by a contribution, in which churchmen assist? Aid of this kind tends undoubtedly to favour the cause of separatists. Men are led to embark in the dissenting ministry, by the general encouragement which they and their families receive: they are deterred by the poverty to which they see the widows and children of dissenting ministers consigned. And yet what benevolent man does not instinctively perceive, that to be very prudent and long-sighted in every case of this description, is to be narrow and illiberal, as well as hard hearted; that it is to shut up our “bowels of compassion,” and to refuse perhaps to the widow of a dissenter that which we might possibly give to the widow of a Jew, an infidel, or a Turk? We have travelled into this detail, partly in order to shew that there is no summary mode of settling questions of this sort; although we are aware that our hints may expose us to be blamed by some for countenancing dissenters too much, and by others for favouring them too little.

Our author's apprehensions for the church, if we may judge of them from this chapter, run somewhat higher than ours; though our own also are great. We are inclined to hope, that the rapid progress recently made by the methodists and dissenters (the new inroad is chiefly made by the methodists of Mr. Wesley's school) will at length enforce a greater attention to the character and religious education of those who are ordained to holy orders in the church—a subject on which we beg leave to refer our readers to Mr. Ingram, who has treated copiously upon it, and is surely a competent witness in the cause; that it will also tend in the issue to accredit those evangelical ministers in the church, who, on account chiefly of their resembling many of the dissenters in piety and zeal, have been confounded with them, and subjected to reproach; that after trial

had of the little efficacy of laws for enforcing residence, and of all merely legislative provisions, as well as of those addresses to the middling and lower orders in favour of the ecclesiastical constitution of the church, to which some have trusted so much; it will at last be discovered that we must of necessity descend into the plain, and contend foot to foot with the dissenters; that we must arm ourselves for this combat, by adding religious zeal to our love of ecclesiastical decorum, piety to our learning, and a practical acquaintance with the influence of evangelical truth upon the human heart to the too cold orthodoxy, and the too low and scanty morality, with which we had contented ourselves. Sooner or later this consequence of the increase of sectarism may possibly arise;—the sooner, doubtless, the better. But, at the same time, we are not without apprehension that this may in a great measure fail to be the result. We wish, indeed, for no coarse and vulgar competition. We are ambitious to see the church avail itself of its manifold advantages. Let it erect its head, not in pride nor yet in wrath, but with a truly Christian dignity, and with a look of brotherly kindness and condescension, even to those whose labours it endeavours gradually and quietly to supersede. Let it attempt to triumph over them by augmenting its own industry, and by improving in qualifications for that comprehensive work which the state has assigned to it—the work of evangelizing the whole population of this extended country.

The next chapter of our author has our warm approbation. Here, indeed, he appears in his highest character; and we have little other task to perform than that of offering a few quotations. The subject of the chapter is the necessity of encouraging an earnest piety in the church. He affirms, in the opening of it, that “to diffuse religion through every part of the body politic is the purpose of an ecclesiasti-

cal establishment.”—“In an *unpersecuted* state of the church,” says he, “and especially in a wealthy country, earnest piety will not be found to be a quality universally prevailing in the profession, as any one may conceive who will give himself time to consider the variety of inducements which may occasion a choice of this vocation.”—Persons may come for ordination “with respectful deportment, decent learning, and accredited testimonials,” who “are mere men of the world; nor may it be possible for the most discerning bishop to detect their character;” while among dissenters, he admits that “secular inducements are fewer.” “The church,” he then says, “*must carry this burden†.*” It is “by these men that her operation is impeded.” “Law cannot produce piety.”

“In such men,” he then adds, “will be discerned a readiness to break through the decorums and restraints of their profession, and to cover the incongruity, when they do so, by injurious reflections on purer manners; or by meretricious commendations of Christianity, as a religion that is no enemy to what they choose to call harmless pleasures. Thus, in their common conversation, lending the authority of their professional character to the support of that kind of life which it was ordained to discountenance.”

“O curvæ in terras animæ, et cœlestium inanes!”

“On the dissolute, the proud, and the worldly-minded, these men generally bear with a light hand; but are fierce against some poor sect, the growth of which may be more aided by their own negligence than by any other circumstance.”—“Here, though care-

* We do not stop to notice every error of language. The term *unpersecuted* is novel and scarcely English.

† We think that the author goes too far in this last expression. Even if the bishop cannot detect this want of fervour, or rather of true piety, in the candidates for holy orders; they, and the persons round them, may surely censure and expose it, when it has manifestly appeared. Visitation sermons and episcopal charges, seem to us to have not very often turned on this species of delinquency.

lessness be their general characteristic, they will shew earnestness," "panegyricizing beyond all bounds what it is fashionable to defend, and laying on abuse thick, where truth and charity call only for qualified censure; it being no uncommon thing to find in them the bigotry without the sanctity of former times, and the laxity without the liberality of the present day."

We shall take the liberty of supplying a slight addition, or rather correction, to this excellent passage. It seems to us to represent the mass of those lukewarm and worldly ministers of the church, of whom the chapter treats, as generally characterized by a habit of declaiming against some poor sect. This mass, as we fear, is so large and various, as to require a more full and diversified description. We have among our clergy some men much engrossed by the chace; some who are "familiar with a round of ladyships;" some devoted to literary pursuits; some to other secular objects; and of these, a considerable part, as we suspect, are conscious that they know almost nothing of the tenets of the surrounding sects. They are too far removed, by the habits of their life, from the sources of information, to acquaint themselves with the subject. Some of them contemptuously disdain it, accounting that their very ignorance is bliss. Not a few of those ministers, who are defective in piety, are unaccustomed to compose their own sermons. Some of these occasionally preach a strict, or even an evangelical, discourse; but the doctrine of one day may be perceived, by a discerning ear, to contradict that of another. They are to be known, not so much, however, by their mode of preaching, as by their turn of conversation and manner of life. If a minister, when he descends from the pulpit, shews little religious zeal; if he tolerate freely what is lax in practice; if he is much assimilated to the world; then, undoubtedly, he is not one of those men of fervent piety of whom our author speaks, and from whom alone

a revival of religion can be expected to proceed. There are some ministers of the church, of the lukewarm class, who are not unwilling to speak in very kind and handsome terms of the neighbouring sectarist; whose very fault it is to be on all sides liberal of their praise; easy, kind-hearted men, whom it is most unpleasant individually to censure; but whose piety it is impossible to praise; who err perniciously, and yet err on the good-natured side; men lax both in their principles, their practice, and their judgment. To all these classes "a declining state of religion" (as our author well expresses it) "is rather a convenience than otherwise. Indifference in the people suits the indifferent priest; a little duty being all that the one demands, and all that the other has any inclination to perform." "It is a very earnest piety," as this reprover most emphatically insists, "that is now demanded—a piety that will raise the instructor's mind above the tone of general thinking on religious subjects, and the fear of that contempt which his juster views may provoke—that will lead him to set before men the consequences of sin, just as they are stated in the Scriptures; to reprove, rebuke, and warn, as well as to argue and entreat. This earnestness, accompanied with that hope-inspiring strain of preaching, in which the character and grace of our Redeemer are set forth, may be expected to produce some impression on mankind."

We now follow our author into his third chapter, which he distributes into eight sections, and entitles; "Impartial enquiry into the character and views of the class of clergymen called evangelical ministers." p. 41.

He observes, in the outset, that it is important to ascertain whether these are friends or enemies to the church, since, if enemies, they are one of the evils which we have to remove.

"Of my competency to this enquiry," he

says, "I have only this presumptive argument to offer; that my intercourse has been much, though not exclusively, among clergymen of this description." "Nor am I anxious to conceal, that, though far from approving of many things found among them, though no member of any of their associations, and considered by some of them as standing at rather a low point in the scale of orthodoxy, I am one who might probably be classed with them by many. To hold forth the Saviour as the only hope of fallen man—to shew the necessity of a much higher degree of holiness than that which satisfies the bulk of Christian professors—and the impossibility of attaining this without the influence of the Holy Spirit, being in my view duties of the first consequence in the discharge of the sacred function, the importance I attach to them may be discerned in my humble ministry. On this account, the clergy of whom I am about to speak, admit me into their pulpits; and some of them, possessing in an eminent degree the excellencies of their profession, unmingled with any appearance of sectarian peculiarity, I rejoice to see in that which I have in charge."

"Though the author," he adds, "accounts knowledge in religion a blessing to every individual who has it, and a quality of great importance in a religious instructor; he has not so circumscribed a conception of true Christianity, as to look for it only among a few persons, who more perhaps from being in the habit of anatomizing religious opinions, than from uncommon parts or piety, have learned to think with extraordinary exactness on theological subjects. He believes, that many whose way of expressing themselves on these subjects is less accurate, possess the vital spirit of that religion, which others may know how to state in precisè terms."

"Above all, he wishes not to identify the interests of Christianity with those of a party in the Christian world."—Taking this class of clergymen "in the gross, he does not think that the persons of whom it consists can be said to have made up, by the perfection of their character, what they wanted of wisdom, through the weakness of their reason, and the inequality of their station. Some of them appear to him to deserve a place among the brightest ornaments of their generation. But truth obliges him to acknowledge, that there are many who have so little beyond the least intention to entitle them to commendation, that all claim in their behalf to be waived."

As we mean to return to the consideration of this general subject, in

a future part of our review, we shall content ourselves at present with observing, that, in these introductory remarks, the author does not appear to us to do full justice to the class of men of whom he treats.

The two first sections of this large chapter are occupied by the subject of the supposed Calvinism of the clergy under consideration: and we find this intelligent witness agreeing with us, in representing a large part of them as neutral, or nearly neutral, in the contest between the Calvinists and Arminians; and another not inconsiderable part, as taking the Arminian side. The very Calvinists also, as he justly observes, hold many things which are assumed by their opponents to be incompatible with Calvinism.

"Let us endeavour," says our author, (and we wish to enforce his exhortation) "to imitate those devout men on either side, who, though they cannot be of one opinion on this particular subject, can both unite in giving glory to God: for each, however widely different their views be of this single point, have that in their respective systems, which excites a thankful sense of divine mercy, and produces a holy life."

"The devout man who believes that none will be saved but those whom God from the beginning chose to eternal life, trusting (from the signs of a converted mind) that he is one of that favoured number, is filled with humility, whenever he thinks of his happy condition. He sees no reason why God should choose him, but what he draws from his own wise and righteous mind. He ascribes every thing by which his salvation has been at all forwarded, to the grace of God. To this, he attributes every good purpose of his mind, his first serious thought; his progress in holiness; and all the means by which this progress has been aided. While thus filled with admiration of the love of God to himself, he adores him with a full reverence as a just Being, when he reflects on his passing others by; considering, from the opinion he holds of the fallen condition of man, that all were deserving of their Maker's rejection. God was at perfect liberty to choose which of them it pleased him to make the objects of grace; and that of course, his goodness is not impeached, by leaving some of the un-

gressors to the consequences of their disobedience.

"The devout man, who espouses the opposite system, equally admires the love of God, though he does not view it through the medium of an eternal election of individuals. His Maker is endeared to him, as one who is merciful to all. To his apprehension, it is a more certain source of comfort, that God is willing 'that *all* should come to repentance,' than that he has determined to overcome every impediment to the conversion and salvation of *some*: inasmuch as that which renders the salvation of *any man* possible, gives hope to *every one* who is seriously disposed to strive for it in his own case. Yet divine grace is not less his constant theme of praise, than it is that of the decided Calvinist: firmly persuaded, that man by nature is in a guilty and ruined state, he traces the work of redemption by Christ, and all the means of carrying it into effect, with all the success that has attended those means, to that cause." pp. 66, 67.

Our author, in another place, gives a more full and somewhat different description of the sentiments of those evangelical clergymen who are not Calvinistic.

"They do not deny," says he, in this fuller description, "that there may be some 'chosen vessels;' that certain individuals may from all eternity be predestinated to honourable stations in the church below, and to superior happiness hereafter: as, for instance, St. Paul. These, however, they consider as *select cases*, which furnish no rule to them in the execution of their office; and, moreover, as being of such a nature, that though they seem to vary from the ordinary course of the divine proceedings, yet do not at all interfere with the plan of the Gospel, which they reverence as a merciful provision for the good of all, to whom it may be sent. They know not how to separate the idea of legislation from the Christian religion; nor how to regard the constitution, which commissions them to 'preach the Gospel to every creature,' under a view, which reduces it to a system of favouritism. Such, to their apprehension, does the principle of Calvinism. To them, therefore, it is a kind of monster in the moral world:—a principle, repugnant to the dictates of our nature, in which, depraved as it is, there still exists some remains of that sense of the obligation and advantage of obedience, with which man came out of the hands of his Creator:—a principle, contradicting all our ideas of

moral government; at open war with our conception of an impartial rule of procedure; rendering Christianity incapable of being made out to considerate minds, as a wise, righteous, equitable, or gracious system;—a principle that extinguishes hope, and paralyzes exertion. On the Calvinistic hypothesis, they consider all human means of propagating religion as a scheme of future and everlasting benefit, to be nugatory; and all public provision for the support of it as such, an absurdity which no government on earth would knowingly commit: conceiving that no state would appropriate any portion of its revenues to institutions that were not intended to be of general benefit." pp. 51, 52.

The sentiments contained in this passage were asserted by Mr. Wesley, and Mr. Fletcher, in their controversial writings, and have probably been adopted by many of their followers; but they must be allowed, by all who have fairly considered the subject, to exhibit a distorted view of Calvinism. We are inclined to believe that this passage does not express the general judgment of the Arminian part of the evangelical clergy. We conceive that many of them are not so very inimical to Calvinism, as this passage represents them to be; and we are most clearly of opinion that there are errors in the faith, which is there described. The doctrine that there are "some chosen vessels," but that "these are select cases" constituting a sort of exception to the general rule; and that, in respect to these persons, there has been a variation from the ordinary course of the divine proceedings, is probably the sentiment only of a few (if we except the followers of Mr. Wesley); and it is in our judgment contrary both to true philosophy and to sound religion. Can the Almighty have two rules of conduct for the salvation of man? Many Arminians have complained, and not perhaps unjustly, of the inconsistency of those Calvinists, who, while they affirm the doctrine of election, are afraid of also asserting that of reprobation; and therefore substitute that of mere preterition in

his place. Can there also, in the judgment of Arminians, be another kind of preterition, a preterition of the larger part of those who shall be saved, the smaller part of them being admitted to be elected or predestinated unto life? Can it be supposed, that the predestinated are only a part of those who shall be saved; and that the body of the unpredestinated consists of the remainder of the saved, and of the whole of those who shall fail of eternal life? Is every religious as well as metaphysical objection to the doctrine of absolute predestination removed by merely limiting it somewhat more than the milder Calvinists had narrowed it;—by merely lessening the number of individuals on whom it is supposed to operate? Can an objection to the principle be done away, by diminishing the number of persons whom it affects?—Paul (it is said) may be “a chosen vessel.” But if Paul, why not Peter also? And if Peter, why not James and John? Why not all the apostles? Why not the first disciples also? Why not Clemens, of whom it was said that his name was in the Book of Life? Why not that elect lady of whom the Scriptures speak? Why not the whole early church, of whom it is generally said that they were “the chosen,” “the called,” “the faithful?” Why not, in short, the body of true believers in all ages? Surely it is better to qualify the general doctrine of predestination, than first to give to it the utmost degree of strength, and then to endeavour to obviate objections, by making this partial application of it. This is a kindred error to that of those persons who deny the providence of God to be universal, and yet allow of his occasional interposition; who imagine that the Deity interferes in the affairs of this world only on great occasions—in the concerns of kings, in the administration of empires, in the rise and fall of states, in the production of extensive earthquakes—a sentiment,

as they think, honourable to God; but, in truth, implying a very mean conception of his attributes.

“Jupiter est quodcumque vides quocumque moveris.”

In some parts of these discussions, our author seems rather to imply (though in this, perhaps, we may have mistaken him) that men of evangelical sentiments must of necessity be either Calvinists or Arminians; and that the neutral party was merely silent in respect to the point in controversy, and silent, it may be supposed, on prudential grounds. We profess to be ourselves neutrals of a somewhat different description; and are willing to hope that the number of persons who think nearly as we do is not inconsiderable. We dislike the metaphysical accuracy which has been introduced into both the systems; and are professedly for taking a more loose and popular, and at the same time, as we conceive, a more practical view of these subjects.

We say, on the one hand, that the Divine Providence directs and governs all things, and that the Divine Grace is necessary both to prevent and follow us, and is to be looked up to with humble thankfulness as the real and *efficient* cause of every good thing produced in us. We affirm also, on the other, that man is a voluntary agent, subject to no law of necessity; that the aid of the Divine Grace is also held forth in Scripture freely to all; and that there can be nothing equivocal or delusive in the Divine offer. The contest which we would maintain, is not so much whether election is in any sense conditional or unconditional; whether predestination is respective or irrelative; whether reprobation is fairly resolvable into preterition, or whether the state of the will consists best with the sublapsarian or supralapsarian hypothesis: nor are we contentious even on the subject of final perseverance. We have considered these questions, but they are many of them too hard

for us. We do not form to ourselves a private judgment, and then suppress the mention of it, through fear of the mischievous consequences of publishing what we believe to be the truth, or of giving offence to one or the other party. We beg to proclaim, as from the house top, our real doubts and difficulties on many of these points. On the great evangelical doctrines, we trust that we are plain and decided; and we have often stated our opinions respecting them. But when Calvinists and anti-calvinists fall out; when pious men, equally acknowledging that it is "by grace through faith" that we are saved, equally supplicating the aid of the Divine Spirit, and equally shewing by their conduct that they are subjects of the same Divine Master, place themselves in array against each other; and when any of these complain that our "*trumpet gives an uncertain sound,*" and ask to which of the two armies we belong, we reply, that we wish to throw ourselves into the space between them, and assume the character of peace-makers; and we frankly acknowledge, that, for our own part, we have neither sword nor shield for this warfare. We think that we perceive in Scripture some things which sound favourably for the Calvinists, some which may be turned to the advantage of the Arminians; that Scripture, however, uses no philosophical or metaphysical expressions; assumes man to be a creature able to see but in part; and in speaking to him of the character and ways of God, uses a language immeasurably great, which is often however reduced to littleness, by being employed to establish a too exact and systematical theology.

The writer expresses nearly our own sentiments in the following passage.

"I deem it an unhappiness, that my reading does not enable me to name a work, which goes fully, and with evident subjection of mind to the entire testimony of Scripture, into this momentous enquiry.

"The time may come, when some genius may arise to elucidate this point, with capacity equal to the investigation, and piety equal to his talents. A performance on such a subject, written by a truly philosophical spirit; by a mind that can penetrate into principles as well as cite authorities; by an author, thoroughly acquainted with the nature of vital Christianity, and filled with the deepest reverence of all the natural and moral perfections of Deity; evidently possessing a due sense of the limited powers of man, a firm persuasion of the inspiration of the Scriptures, a perfect willingness to abide by his decisions, a devout feeling of the difficulty attending some questions on which the discussion must impinge, a fortitude that rendered him equally fearless of an opprobrious name from the world, or of not being considered orthodox by the religious, and a Christian tenderness that made him careful never to shock or wound those who differed from him:—a performance from such a writer, it may be worth our while to peruse. As for those productions which go not to the bottom of the question, embrace not the whole breadth of it, advert not to its bearings on infinitely important points; which, with a professed appeal to the Scriptures, only overwhelm us with quotations selected with a partial hand; which are evidently the produce of a weak, or wayward mind; of men, who either cannot grasp the subject, or are determined to have their own way in the debate:—it is but losing time, to read them.

"Till something appear which shall meet the main difficulties on the Calvinistic question, in a way satisfactory to those, who regard with equal reverence every part of holy writ (a desideratum which many devout minds on either side would rejoice to see produced), we must be content to see men take different views of the subject; and think we have as much as can reasonably be expected in this imperfect state, if we perceive, some on either side endeavouring in their respective ways to check the progress of evil." pp. 71—73.

The observations of our author, respecting the causes of the present unpopularity of Calvinism in this country, are in general very just. It is known, as he says, to have been the favourite system of those troublers of Israel who had so large a share in producing the civil wars; and by a very natural association of ideas, it is considered as now tending to revolution. When Jansenius, a chief teacher of Calvinism,

wrote against the French claims to the territory of Flanders and in favour of the Spanish cause, Calvinism was condemned and persecuted in France as inimical to French prosperity; but in Spain the credit of Calvinism was very different, and the French heretic was even made a Spanish bishop. We do not, however, mean to go the length of intimating that Calvinism has no influence on character. We merely would observe, that its effect is much less than is often represented. It is susceptible of many modifications, of which its enemies are not aware; and it is commonly associated, and therefore also is influenced, by feelings of piety and devotion*.

The Calvinistic doctrines being deemed harsh, it is sometimes supposed that there must be a correspondent severity in the minds of all those who embrace them. We suspect, however, that the softness of many persons has made them Calvinists. Perceiving a fervent piety in certain Calvinistic teachers, they have embraced, through the very ductility of their temper, the whole of the prescribed system. The very consciousness of being subject to the imputation of severity has also often excited zeal to remove this prejudice, and contributed to give gentleness to the character; a gentleness which in this case, however, may be rather incidental to Calvinism when it is the object of much suspicion and observation, than properly and generally characteristic of it. But the doctrines, we would again and again repeat, to which many men in this age give the de-

* "A Calvinist," says bishop Burnet, "is taught by his opinions to think meanly of himself, and to ascribe the honour of all to God, which lays in him a deep foundation for humility. He is also much inclined to secret prayer, and to a fixed dependance on God, which naturally brings his mind to a good state, and fixes it in it. And so though perhaps he cannot give a coherent account of the grounds of his watchfulness and care of himself, yet that temper arises out of his humility and earnestness in prayer."

nomination of Calvinism, are in truth not Calvinism; they are the great evangelical doctrines of Scripture and of our own church.

"Take especial care," said bishop Horsley in his last charge (and no bishop was ever more intelligent than his lordship on these points), "before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism, and what is not: that in that mass of doctrine, which it is of late become the fashion to abuse under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it, which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the reformed churches; lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin." p. 75.

(To be continued.)

Fox's History of the Reign of James the Second.

(Continued from p. 732.)

MR. Fox's History, properly so called, commences with the accession of James II. to the throne; and the very opening of his reign exhibits him in the most odious colours.

"An intimate connection with the court of Versailles being the principal engine by which the favourite project of absolute monarchy was to be effected, James, for the purpose of fixing and cementing that connection, sent for M. de Barillon, the French ambassador, the very day after his accession, and entered into the most confidential discourse with him. He explained to him his motives for intending to call a parliament, as well as his resolution to levy, by authority, the revenue which his predecessor had enjoyed in virtue of a grant of parliament, which determined with his life. He made general professions of attachment to Lewis, declared that in all affairs of importance it was his intention to consult that monarch, and apologised, upon the ground of the urgency of the case, for acting, in the instance mentioned, without his advice. Money was not directly mentioned, owing perhaps to some sense of shame upon that subject, which his brother had never experienced; but lest there should be a doubt whether that object were implied in the desire of

support and protection, Rochester was directed to explain the matter more fully, and to give a more distinct interpretation of these general terms. Accordingly, that minister waited the next morning upon Barillon, and after having repeated and enlarged upon the reasons for calling a parliament, stated, as an additional argument in defence of the measure, that without it his master would become too chargeable to the French king; adding, however, that the assistance which might be expected from a parliament did not exempt them altogether from the necessity of resorting to that prince for pecuniary aids; for that, without such, he would be at the mercy of his subjects; and that upon this beginning would depend the whole fortune of the reign."

Our readers will sympathize with the indignant feelings which are called forth by Rochester's concluding argument, and recognise the acuteness of the inference which the historian draws from it.

"If Rochester actually expressed himself as Barillon relates, the use intended to be made of parliament cannot but cause the most lively indignation; while it furnishes a complete answer to the historians who accuse the parliaments of those days of unseasonable parsimony in their grants to the Stuart kings; for the grants of the people of England were not destined, it seems, to enable their kings to oppose the power of France, or even to be independent of her, but to render the influence which Lewis was resolved to preserve in this country less chargeable to him, by furnishing their quota to the support of his royal dependant."

The moment the account of these conversations was received in France, Barillon was instructed to accompany the delivery of a letter of compliment from his master, with the agreeable news of having received from him bills of exchange to the amount of 500,000 livres, a little above 20,000*l.*, to be used in whatever manner might be convenient to the king of England's service.

"The account," says Mr. Fox, "which Barillon gives of the manner in which this sum was received, is altogether ridiculous: the king's eyes were full of tears; and three of his ministers, Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, came severally to the French ambassador, to express the sense their master

had of the obligation in terms the most lavish. Indeed, the demonstrations of gratitude from the king directly, as well as through his ministers, for this supply, were such, as, if they had been used by some unfortunate individual, who, with his whole family, had been saved, by the timely succour of some kind and powerful protector, from a goal and all its horrors, would be deemed rather too strong than too weak."

Mr. Fox goes on to illustrate the sagacity and foresight of Lewis, both in his present liberality and in the remissness with which he had latterly paid Charles's pension. Lewis, besides the general object of engaging James in his interest by a handsome retaining fee, had a particular end in view in this liberality. This was to secure James's consent to dispense with the treaty which Charles had made with the court of Spain, for preserving to France the remainder of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles, indeed, though he had made, had not observed this treaty; and his conduct in violating, without formally renouncing it, was gravely commended, and stated "to be no more than what might justly be expected from him." James, however, was declared to be still more free, and to be in no way bound by the treaty.

"This," says Mr. Fox, "appears to be a nice distinction; and it might be difficult to conceive what that degree of obligation was, from which James was exempt, but which had lain upon Charles, who neither thought himself bound, nor was expected by others, to execute the treaty." Mr. Fox justly and admirably derides this false morality; but our readers, we trust, will trace it to its source, and see that it naturally arises from substituting the law of honour in the place of the simple dictates of religion and conscience.

"The meaning," adds Mr. Fox, who seems no longer able to preserve his tone of irony, but to be impatient to express himself in the plain language of honest indignation, "the meaning of all this contemptible shuffling was, that James, by giving up all concern

for the Spanish Netherlands, should be at liberty to acquiesce in, or to second, whatever might be the ambitious projects of the court of Versailles."

"Thus ended, for the present, this disgusting scene of iniquity and nonsense, in which all the actors seemed to vie with each other in prostituting the sacred names of friendship, generosity, and gratitude, in one of the meanest and most criminal transactions which history records."

We have given these particulars at length, for the sake of the observations the historian grounds on them.

"The principal parties in this business, besides the king himself, were Sunderland, Rochester, Godolphin, and lord Churchill, the last of whom was at the same time sent to Paris, to obtain further pecuniary aids." Mr. Fox proceeds. "With respect to lord Godolphin in particular, it is impossible, without pain, to see him engaged in such transactions. With what self-humiliation must he not have reflected upon them in subsequent periods of his life! How little could Barillon guess that he was negotiating with one who was destined to be at the head of an administration, which, in a few years, would send the same lord Churchill, not to Paris to implore Lewis for succours towards enslaving England, or to thank him for pensions to her monarch, but to combine all Europe against him in the cause of liberty; to rout his armies, to take his towns, to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise at the expence of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations! It is with difficulty the reader can persuade himself, that the Godolphin and Churchill here mentioned are the same persons who were afterwards, one in the cabinet, one in the field, the great conductors of the war of the succession. How little do they appear in one instance! how great in the other! And the investigation of the cause to which this excessive difference is principally owing, will produce a most useful lesson. Is the difference to be attributed to any superiority of genius in the prince whom they served in the latter period of their lives? Queen Anne's capacity appears to have been inferior even to her father's. Did they enjoy, in a greater degree, her favour and confidence? The very reverse is the fact. But in one case they were the tools of a king plotting against his people; in the other, the

ministers of a free government acting upon enlarged principles, and with energies, which no state, that is not in some degree republican, can supply. How forcibly must the contemplation of these men, in such opposite situations, teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desirable, not only for the public good, but for their own greatness and consideration, for every object of generous ambition."

We cannot but think that Mr. Fox's extreme predilection for popular governments has here led him to a very strained inference. It is undeniable, that pure republics have often been pre-eminently cruel and unjust. Churchill and Godolphin (we say it with deep regret) appear, especially the former of them, to have been unprincipled though able men, intent on pushing their own fortunes. Under every form of government, such men will often be engaged in transactions, which the moralist cannot but condemn. Would not the more just, as well as the more useful, inference have been, that public men might here learn, that even with a view to their own greatness and glory, they would do well to keep strictly within the paths of rectitude; remembering, that, however they may for a time conceal their villanies from the world, the mask will probably at length be stript off, and their characters be revealed in all their real deformity.

Mr. Fox goes on to state the arbitrary principles and measures which prevailed at the very commencement of James's reign, and specifies the persecution and cruel treatment of Mr. Baxter by judge Jefferies. This gives him occasion just to introduce to his readers this execrable character, who was to occupy a still more conspicuous place in the progress of his history*.

* Among so many other reasons for regretting that Mr. Fox's history stops just where it does, we cannot but reckon it one, that it prevents his fixing a fresh stigma on the character of this detestable man. Jefferies' ferocity and cruelty are universally known;

Mr. Fox soon after endeavours to prove, that James the Second's views were originally directed solely to the establishment of arbitrary power, not, as has been commonly supposed, to that of the Roman-catholic religion, of which his utmost design at first was to obtain a toleration. Mr. Fox subjoins the reason of his labouring this point so greatly.

"It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have, in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to

but it may be useful to state another part of his character, with which our readers may be less acquainted. This we may do by extracting a very few words from the life of lord keeper North. "Jefferies' friendship and conversation lay much among the good-fellows and humourists; and his delights were accordingly drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagancies of the bottle. He had a set of banterers, for the most part, near him, as in old times great men kept fools to make them merry. No friendship or dearness so great in private, which he would not use ill, and to an extravagant degree, in public." Again: "Lord Jefferies came to the seals without any concern at the weight of duty incumbent upon him; for at the first, being merry over a bottle with some of his old friends, one of them told him that he would find the business heavy. No, said he, I'll make it light. But to conclude, with a strange inconsistency, he would drink and be merry, kiss and slaver with those low companions over night, as the way of such is, and the next day fall upon them, ranting and scolding with a virulence unsufferable." Let our young readers especially here observe, how little that jovial conviviality, and love of humour, which are sometimes supposed to indicate benevolence and generous feelings, and which, in that view, are apt to gain upon the inexperienced mind, are necessarily connected with real benevolence and generosity. They belonged eminently to a man, who is even proverbial for ferocity and cruelty.

be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a catholic for our king; whereas, if we consider it, which the history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart kings, as well prior as subsequent to the restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate of that vigilant and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and, by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church in James's case, from its grasp."

That James was a cruel tyrant in politics, as well as a bigoted papist in religion, we have no doubt. But surely that reasoning is not just, which separates entirely his religious from his political principles; which would intimate that the former had no share in endearing to him the possession, and pushing him violently on to the establishment, of arbitrary power; and would even intimate, that we ought to be no less diffident and jealous of the designs of every protestant monarch, and consequently no more disposed to regard him with attachment and confidence. An unprejudiced logician might fairly reply, that, according to Mr. Fox's own statement, the only just inference was, that we ought to distrust every Stuart, whether papist or protestant, but not that we ought to entertain a similar distrust of a prince of the house of Brunswick.

Mr. Fox proceeds to state the first proceedings of James in Scotland; and in order to illustrate the king's recommendation to the Scot-

ish parliament to persevere in the measures of the former reign, our historian relates the long course of continually increasing oppression and cruelty, under which Scotland groaned during that unhappy period. This account might seem to belong more properly to the history of Charles II., who then was on the throne. But James was himself one of the prime agents in the execution of this barbarous system. He himself was on the spot. He witnessed the miseries, he saw the tears, he heard the groans of the wretched victims; yet not a transient suffusion of pity or concern seems to have come over his hard heart. He looks back on all that had passed with perfect complacency; and holds it out as a proper model for the future government of Scotland. It justly constitutes an aggravation of James's wickedness and cruelty, that, in persecuting the conventiclers, he had not the poor excuse which persecutors, and especially those of his own church, have commonly alleged in vindication of their proceedings; that these, in their own opinion, were *pro salute animæ*, and tended, though by a sharp medicine, to cure the spiritual malady, and work the eternal recovery of the souls of the sufferers. Had we not lately witnessed eulogiums on the justice and moderation of a neighbouring sovereign, we might have affirmed, that, since some of the addresses from the Roman senate to their emperors, history had not recorded any adulation at all comparable to that of chancellor Perth. "What prince in Europe, or in the whole world," said this chancellor, "was ever like the late king, except his present majesty, who has undergone every trial of prosperity and adversity, and whose unwearied clemency is not among the least conspicuous of his virtues!"

Mr. Fox next states the opening of James's reign in England; and the disposition, both of parliament and the people, to fall in with their

monarch's arbitrary schemes. He then corrects a gross mistatement of Mr. Hume, who, by giving a long account of a debate in the house of commons which never really took place,—on granting a revenue to the crown, after James's having illegally levied the duties which had ceased on his brother's death,—conveyed a most false impression of the degree of freedom really enjoyed at that period. Mr. Fox then justly remarks:

"This misrepresentation of Mr. Hume is of no small importance, inasmuch as by intimating that such a question could be debated at all, and much more that it was debated with the enlightened views and bold topics of argument with which his genius has supplied him, he gives us a very false notion of the character of the parliament, and of the times which he is describing. It is not improbable, that, if the arguments had been used which this historian supposes, the utterer of them would have been expelled, or sent to the Tower; and it is certain that he would not have been heard with any degree of attention, or even patience."

The only instance in which the house of commons testified any unwillingness to accede to all the king's wishes, was, in refusing to pass the bill which the lords sent them down for reversing the attainder of lord Stafford. Here again Mr. Fox corrects the immorality, as he had before detected the inaccuracy, of Mr. Hume. He observes,

"Mr. Hume, notwithstanding his just indignation at the condemnation of Stafford, and his general inclination to approve of royal politics, most unaccountably justifies the commons in their rejection of this bill, upon the principle of its being impolitic at that time to grant so full a justification of the catholics, and to throw so foul an imputation upon the protestants. Surely, if there be one moral duty that is binding upon men in all times, places, and circumstances, and from which no supposed views of policy can excuse them, it is that of granting a full justification to the innocent; and such Mr. Hume considers the catholics, and especially lord Stafford, to have been."

Mr. Hume, says Mr. Fox, "*most unaccountably* justifies the commons." But surely so accurate a reasoner

as Mr. Fox might have been expected to remark, how Mr. Hume, who commonly is more on his guard, was naturally betrayed into this observation, by his favourite doctrine of expediency; a doctrine, which it is so much the fashion of our days to make the standard and test of morals; a doctrine, with which the reasonings of our historian himself are not infrequently tainted; though he here adopts so much sounder a principle of conduct.

The third chapter is almost entirely employed on the expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth. In witnessing the extraordinary sagacity which Mr. Fox exhibits in his account of them, in balancing opposite probabilities, and ascertaining doubtful points, we were sometimes reminded of the first of a celebrated writer's rules for inquiring into difficult questions, that we should consider whether the question itself be worth the inquiry. Not only had Argyle been treated by the duke of York with the grossest injustice and cruelty, but the west of Scotland, where his estates and connections chiefly lay, had been the scene of such a continued course of oppression and persecution, that when we read the proclamation in which the earl of Argyle justifies his resistance, and duly weigh the argument he grounds on the Scotch statute, to prove James's incapacity to hold the crown, we know not how to censure him for endeavouring, even by a resort to arms, to deliver his country from the despotism under which it had been so long groaning. We shall not therefore here attempt to discuss that delicate question, concerning the right to resist the government of our country. We must, however, observe, that the general effect of Mr. Fox's reasonings tends far too much to render resistance almost always "a question of prudence rather than of morality;" and to warrant a man, if his insurrection should prove successful, to rebel against the government of his coun-

try, though in the actual enjoyment of a larger measure of prosperity and happiness than any other upon earth, merely because some measure should be adopted, which, though sanctioned as expedient, and even necessary by the judgment of the greater part of the community, he might deem inconsistent with just principles of liberty. We are here too naturally reminded of a similar doctrine laid down in another place—but we check ourselves—we have to do with Mr. Fox as an historian, not as a politician; we are commenting on Mr. Fox's history, not writing a history ourselves. But, considering that civil war is the greatest evil that can befall a community, we cannot but feel it our duty to protest against any positions, which tend so greatly to increase the probability of its recurrence.

It is due to Mr. Fox to insert his idea of the real nature of whiggism. It is introduced, where, speaking of the grounds of Monmouth's connection with the party that opposed his father's government, he observes,

"Something may be attributed to his admiration of the talents of some, to his personal friendship for others, among the leaders of the whigs, more to the aptitude of a generous nature to adopt, and if I may so say, to become enamoured of, those principles of justice, benevolence, and equality, which form the true creed of the party which he espoused."

May we venture to confess, that, on comparing the beautiful portraits which this *rex pater et deus* of the whigs draws of the children of whiggism, with the actual features of its progeny, we were at first a little reminded of the partiality with which the owl, in the fable, describes the beauty of her young. Neither could we repress a smile on perusing the following passage, wherein Mr. Fox states the dissensions which prevailed among the leaders in Argyle's expedition. Our author seems to speak feelingly, and to give us the account from his own experience. We can almost fancy

that we obtain a glimpse into the cabinet council of the party, and see some refractory member brought with difficulty to bow to the authority of his chief.

"Where spirit was not wanting, it was accompanied with a degree and species of perversity wholly inexplicable; and which can hardly gain belief from any one, whose experience has not made him acquainted with the extreme difficulty of persuading men, who pride themselves upon an extravagant love of liberty, rather to compromise upon some points with those who have in the main the same views with themselves, than to give power (a power which will infallibly be used for their own destruction) to an adversary, of principles diametrically opposite; in other words, rather to concede something to a friend, than every thing to an enemy."

The account of Argyle's behaviour after his army was dispersed, and he himself was taken, until he died on the scaffold, is related with great feeling and eloquence; and the earl's character is drawn with the pencil of a master.

We cannot too highly admire the generosity, the magnanimity, the patriotism, the fortitude, and at the same time the meekness, the tenderness, the forgiveness of injuries displayed by this great man in his last trying scene; and it is honourable to Mr. Fox's principles, that he assigns the highest praise to this latter class of Argyle's virtues, in forming an estimate of his character. When told that he was to be put to the torture, the dignified serenity of his mind remained unruffled: he hoped, he said, that God would support him. The torture, however, though pretty intelligibly directed by the royal warrant for his execution, if necessary to induce him to confess his associates, was not administered. We regret that our limits will not allow us to extract the whole account. But there is one incident too striking to be omitted, both on its own account, and on that of the dignified, we had almost said Christian, remark with which it is followed. It is taken from Woodrow,

a very respectable minister of the church of Scotland, and a man of undoubted veracity, who declares that he had it from unquestionable hands.

"Before he left the castle, he had his dinner at the usual hour; at which he discoursed not only calmly, but even cheerfully, with Mr. Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bedchamber, where it is recorded that he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a desire to speak with him: upon being told that the earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, the manager disbelieved the account, which he considered as a device to avoid further questionings. To satisfy him, the door of the bed-chamber was half opened; and he then beheld, enjoying a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man, who, by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours! Struck with the sight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the castle with the utmost precipitation, and hid himself in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himself on the first bed that presented itself, and had every appearance of a man suffering the most excruciating torture. His friends, who had been apprized by the servant of the state he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him some wine. He refused, saying,—'No, no, that will not help me; I have been in at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, within an hour of eternity. But as for me'——What a satisfactory spectacle for a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! What an affecting and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which he did not want, and probably knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men, whom the world calls wise in their generation."

Our historian, after having remarked, "it seems throughout to have been the peculiar felicity of Argyle's mind, that every thing was present to it that ought to be so;

nothing that ought not;" gives the following admirable summary of his character.

"We have quite enough to enable us to pronounce, that for constancy and equanimity, under the severest trials, few men have equalled, none ever surpassed, the earl of Argyle. The most powerful of all tempters, hope, was not held out to him, so that he had not, it is true, in addition to his other hard tasks, that of resisting her seductive influence; but the passions of a different class had the fullest scope for their attacks. These, however, could make no impression on his well-disciplined mind. Anger could not exasperate, fear could not appal him; and if disappointment and indignation at the misbehaviour of his followers, and the supineness of the country, did occasionally, as sure they must, cause uneasy sensations, they had not the power to extort from him one unbecoming or even querulous expression. Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found, in a single instance, wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour."

Yet there is one most important particular, in which Mr. Fox's account of Argyle appears to us to be erroneous. He ascribes all the earl of Argyle's great and excellent qualities and conduct to his natural disposition. We refer them to a higher source; and though few have been in situations which have called on them so much of the world's attention, it is the glory of Christianity to have often produced such a display of true magnanimity. It appears, from the account of Woodrow, that the perilous circumstances in which Argyle had been placed, when by a most iniquitous sentence he had been doomed to death for the explanation with which he accompanied the taking of the test oath, had produced the happiest effect on his mind. He escaped first to London, and afterwards to Holland, where, for three years, he lived a very religious and virtuous life. "He spent," says Woodrow, "much time in private religious exercises, and preparation for death, which he reckoned not to be far off. He was a close searcher

of the Scriptures; pleasant and prudent in his conversation; and frequently checked looseness in principles, and jesting with sacred things, which were but too common at this time." His letters to his absent friends, and his discourse with those who were present, during the last two or three days of his life, and even down to the moment of his execution, breathe such a spirit of true Christian piety and resignation, that we can scarcely gratify our readers more than by giving some particulars of them from the simple narrative of Woodrow. The world is apt to admire heroic constancy in death. But it is peculiarly edifying to see it combined with the humility and faith and love of a true Christian. We again remind our readers, that we deliver no opinion whether Argyle's expedition was or was not justifiable. Such of our readers as are of the latter opinion, will remember, that a good Christian may be a very erroneous politician. Argyle himself, however, certainly thought all along, to the very last, that his undertaking had not been sinful.

"I submit," says he, "to the Lord's providence in it. I hope all is for the good of my soul."—"God hath ordered it certainly best, though not to the humours of any engaged! I thank God, I submit heartily to his will."—Again. "June 28, being the Sabbath before his death, the earl spent it in the most spiritual and heavenly manner could be; and indeed to him it was a prelude to the everlasting Sabbath he was just entering upon. His sister, the lady Lothian, came to take her leave of him, and was very much affected, which the earl perceiving, said to her, 'I am now loosed from you, and all earthly satisfactions, and long to be with Christ, which is far better. It seemeth the Lord thought not me fit to be an instrument in his work; but I die in the faith of it, that it will advance, and that the Lord will appear. Sister, I hear they cannot agree about the manner of my death. As to that I am at a point: for I have given up myself to the Lord's disposal, and am assured of my salvation. As for my body, I care not what they do with it. Be kind to my Jeany.'—The excellent lady answered, she would, and

the more for his cause; and tears stopped her, and they parted.

"'It is true,' said he, 'my family is low, and I have nothing to leave them; but if they seek God, they will be wonderfully seen to, and provided for: and if they do not, I care not what come of them. I fear some have eyed me too much as an instrument. Lean not to the arm of flesh.'"

"The earl was beheaded Tuesday, June 30. In the morning he had, in the greatest throng of necessary avocations, much calmness and serenity of soul; yea, much joy and peace in believing. To one standing by him, the earl said, I have more joy and comfort this day, than the day after I escaped out of the Castle."

The following is his last letter to his lady, written just as he was going to the scaffold.

"Edinburgh, Laigh Council-house.

"Dear Heart,

"As God is of himself unchangeable, so he hath been always good and gracious to me; and no place alters it; only I acknowledge, I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it. But now, above all, my life, I thank God, I am sensible of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favour, through Jesus Christ; and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory."—"Forgive me all my faults; and now comfort thyself in Him, in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee, my dearest. Adieu!

"My dear, thy faithful and loving husband,
"Argyle."

Either then, or at some former part of the day, he writes thus to his daughter-in-law.

"My dear lady Sophia,

"What shall I say in this great day of the Lord, wherein, in the midst of a cloud, I find a fair sunshine. I can wish no more for you, but that the Lord may comfort you, and shine upon you as he doth upon me, and give you that same sense of his love in staying in the world, as I have in going out of it. Adieu!"

"Argyle."

"P. S. My blessing to dear earl of Balcarras; the Lord touch his heart, and incline him to his fear."

To another, he writes:

"Dear lady Henrietta,

"I pray God sanctify and bless this lot to you. Our concerns are strangely mixed; the Lord look on them. I know all

shall turn to good to them that fear God, and hope in his mercy. So I know you do; and that you may still do it more and more, is my wish for you. The Lord comfort you. I am your loving father and servant,

"Argyle."

"When the earl went to the scaffold, the council allowed two ministers to wait upon him, one, of their nomination (Mr. Annand, the dean of Edinburgh), the other of his own choice (Mr. Charteris). The dean thus addressed him, when they were mounted on the scaffold, before the earl spake any—"My lord, you are now standing upon mount Calvary, and, ere long, your soul must be transported out of this valley of tears into an estate of eternal bliss and happiness; and it is your concernment to wish and pray that the Lord may carry you safe through that valley of the shadow of death, and may give his angels charge over you, to attend you and carry you safe to his own bosom, where you may be ever with himself, throughout all the ages of eternity." The earl gave a very close and reverent attention to his advices. The other minister addressed him in the following simple manner. "My lord, your lordship is now standing upon the very last nick of your time; and I do not question but you have been busy, ere now, to get matters ordered aright 'twixt God and you: yet it is of your last concernment to be managing well this small moment of time that the Lord is pleased to allow you: and if there be any sin unrepented for, to lay it open before God, who is ready to forgive all penitent sinners." The earl answered, "I think it a duty incumbent upon me to make an acknowledgment of my sins; and in order to that, I think this deserves the first place above the rest, that I did not set time enough apart to wrestle with God in private, in behalf of his work and interest, and my own poor soul; and likewise that I did not worship God in my family so much as I should have done, partly because it was too much the custom of this nation to neglect so heavenly an exercise, and partly because I never looked on myself as a person very fit for such an employment; and likewise my public feelings, which are well known, and for which I have reason to be ashamed this day. Likewise, I have reason to bemoan this as a great fault, that I did not improve the time of my banishment, and these three years' respite the Lord was pleased to give me, so much for his glory, and the advancement of his work and interest, as I might have done in my station; and I earnestly beg that one and all of you who see me die

this day may be aware of those and the like sins, as you would not desire the like or worse punishments to be inflicted upon you; for I do really look on my death as a just punishment inflicted on me by God for my sins, though undeserved at the hands of man; and I would have thought as little to have appeared in this place some time of day after this manner, as many of you who are now satiating your eyes in beholding me. But the Lord in his divine wisdom hath ordered it otherwise; and I am so far from repining and carping at his dispensations towards me, that I bless his name, and desire heartily to give him endless praise and thanks for the same."

His speech to a vast multitude of spectators was in the same style of Christian resignation and humility, with many references to the Holy Scriptures, and quotations from them. His last moments are thus described.

"Being ready to go to the block, he desired the executioner might not be permitted to go to his office, till he gave the sign by his hand; and taking down on his knees upon the stool, embraced the maiden (as the instrument of beheading is called), and very pleasantly, and with great composure, he said, it was a mean to finish his sin and misery, and his inlet to glory, for which he longed. And in that posture, having prayed a little space within himself, he uttered these words three times, *Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory!* and then gave the sign by lifting up his hand, and the executioner did his work; and his head was separated from his body."

Mr. Fox is almost equally minute in his account of Monmouth's expedition; but we must confess that we think he has delineated Monmouth's character in much too favourable colours. The concluding scene of his life, and particularly the account of what passed between Monmouth and the clergy who attended him in prison and to the scaffold, is worked up with exquisite skill.

Mr. Fox's statement of these conversations is taken from an account which was published at the time, and authenticated by the signatures of the bishops themselves. These were Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, and Turner, bishop of Ely; together with Dr. Tension, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of

Canterbury. The two former attended him by the king's order; the last, by his own desire. It appears, from the recital above mentioned, that Kenn and Turner especially laboured hard to convince him, that if, as he declared, he was a member of the church of England, he must acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance; and they urged him strongly not to be satisfied with a general repentance, but to confess the sinfulness of his late undertaking. On this head they pressed him with what we cannot but own to have been unseasonable pertinacity; and Mr. Fox relates much of what passed with such address, as can scarcely fail to call forth in the breasts of most of his readers emotions of the liveliest pity for the unhappy sufferer, and even of astonishment, not unmixed with anger, at the divines who could so harass and persecute the poor man in his dying moments. The author seems to wish all along to retain a tone of temperate irony; but his feelings sometimes appear to get the better of him, and to force him to express, in plain terms, the indignation which he can no longer suppress. But when that effervescence of feelings, which must have been produced in most men's minds by this exquisitely-wrong story, shall have fumed away, we may be allowed to urge a few considerations in behalf of the good bishops (for such they truly were) who have been lashed with such unmerciful severity; and we are persuaded that Mr. Fox has been misled into treating them with a degree of harshness foreign to his nature. Mr. Fox, it must be confessed, however versed in politics, was too little acquainted with religion; and from this ignorance he was betrayed into an idea, that the bishops, in pressing Monmouth to acknowledge the criminality of his late expedition, and in general the doctrine of non-resistance, were influenced merely "by an intemperate party zeal for the honour of the church and their own charac-

ter." Even this principle might have been expected not to receive its severest censures from Mr. Fox's pen. But, in truth, those worthy men acted from a much higher and purer motive. Surely it would have mollified Mr. Fox's resentment, and have led him to see that they were governed by a principle superior to the *esprit de corps*, if he had considered (and it was his duty as an historian to consider) that these two prelates evinced the purity of their motives, and the uprightness of their characters, by being two of the seven who afterwards made so glorious a stand against James's encroachments; and who afterwards gave a still more decisive proof of their being sincerely persuaded of the truth of the tenets, their pertinacious assertion of which Mr. Fox here censures, by giving up their bishoprics, and retiring to ignoble poverty, rather than take the oath of allegiance to king William. Of Kenn in particular, it is even reported, that his poverty was afterwards such, that he was known to receive alms at the door of his own cathedral. The truth is, that being charged with the office of attending Monmouth in his last moments, they considered themselves as having a solemn duty to fulfil—that of endeavouring to prepare him for standing at the judgment-seat of the Almighty; and of assisting him in effecting his acceptance and salvation, by leading him to that "true repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ," by which alone they could be secured. "The giving public satisfaction," as they justly told him, "was a necessary part of repentance of a public offence." Moreover, they knew with whom they had to do; that Monmouth had been throughout life a very dissipated, and at times a very debauched, character; and though Mr. Fox represents him to have been very sincere in his religious professions, our readers will probably form a different judgment of the veritade, if not of the sincere-

ty, of his religious principles; and regard as a sign of the most dangerous enthusiasm the conclusion which he drew from his having no fear of death, that his repentance must be true, when they know that the bishops had in vain laboured to convince him of the sinfulness of his criminal intercourse with lady Harriet Wentworth, with whom, deserting his wife and children, he had lived for the last few years of his life. Even in his dying moments, he publicly declared that she was a very virtuous and godly woman; that what had passed betwixt them was very honest and innocent in the sight of God; "and that he could bless God that he had given him so much grace, that, for the two years last past, he had led a life unlike to his former course, in which he had been happy."

On the whole, notwithstanding the various sarcasms, utterly unworthy of their author, which Mr. Fox casts on the bishops; that more especially wherein he observes that none of these *holy* men, a phraseology in speaking of churchmen borrowed from Mr. Hume, seem to have erred on the side of compassion or complaisance; our readers we trust will see, that, to say nothing of the positive duty they had to fulfil, there was more real benevolence in endeavouring to bring Monmouth to true repentance, than there would have been in taking a line, which Mr. Fox conceives would better have become them, of softening and consoling his sorrows, and helping him to that composure of mind so necessary to his situation.

To Mr. Fox's history is affixed an Appendix, consisting chiefly of the correspondence carried on between Louis XIV. and Barillon, his minister at the court of Great Britain. The letters had all, we believe, been published before by Dalrymple and Macpherson. Many of them are highly interesting; and besides those feelings of indignation and shame, which they will often call forth, they ought to excite the gra-

side of every British reader, who considers how different would be the contents of letters which should now pass between any foreign prince and his minister resident in London.

(*To be continued.*)

Disquisitions on Population; in which, the Principles of the Essay on Population, by the Rev. T. R. Malthus, are examined and refuted. By ROBERT ACKLOM INGRAM, B.D. Rector of Segrave in Leicestershire. London: Hatchard. 1808. 8vo. pp. 132.

When men "jostle in the dark," they are apt to mistake friends for foes; and, in controversies on profound and difficult subjects, it is not unusual to behold authors committed in deadly affray, whom daylight would have arranged under the same banners. Of this confusion of persons, we are much deceived if we have not now a striking instance before us. To the new doctrines of population we have formerly expressed our qualified assent; in the publication of Mr. Ingram, those doctrines are assailed with unqualified hostility; yet we cannot remit the persuasion, that the opinions of our author on the subject are in perfect sympathy with our own; that whatever he has justly condemned in the work of Mr. Malthus, is rather a casual exudation from the system of that philosopher, or an extrinsic appendage to it, than a vital member of the mass; and that the essential elements of this system, all the principles which constitute its organic being and consistence, he has condemned only from a misapprehension of its nature.

Should it be intimated that the courtesy which we have experienced from Mr. Ingram, in the reciprocal discussion of some other subjects, has left us not disinclined to claim his fellowship and alliance on this, we cannot, perhaps, altogether dispute the justice of the in-

putation. Every man feels disposed to be agreed with those who can differ from him with civility; nor can there be any good reason, why a disposition, in its tendency so benevolent and pacificatory, should be repressed. Yet it will soon, we cannot but hope, be made plain, that, in the present instance, our judgment has fully accompanied our wishes; nor is the accession of Mr. Ingram himself to this opinion absolutely beyond our ambition. Before, however, we attempt to shew that the reasonings of this gentleman hinge on a misconception of those which he contests, it may be advisable to wind out, if possible, the manner in which this misconception has arisen. When one ordinary man mistakes another, all is as it should be; this is a part of the course of nature; and if it did not come round with the rest, we should be appalled as by a portent: but that one sensible man should mistake another, is not an event of such frequent occurrence as to be placed to the account of common accident, or disposed of by a vague reflection on human fallibility. It may be added, that the history of an error often furnishes the best clue to its detection.

The pursuits of political economy, although possessing sterling value, and professing for their end the happiness of mankind, have yet some features, which a philanthropist will hardly find amiable or prepossessing. Even the habit of contemplating men in large masses, is not, perhaps, the most favourable to benevolence. That human affections *must rise from individual to the whole*, is a truth which was perfectly well understood by the ancient philosophers; and the revolutionary presumption of modern times, which has attempted, not only in speculation but in practice, to reverse this order, and to found individual attachment on *the love of being in general*, has, in the end, afforded only a terrible and emphatic confirmation to the lessons which it aspired

to overthrow. In all sciences, however, that mainly proceed on *generic* views of human nature, there is a partial tendency at least to that character of coldness and harshness, which so utterly deforms and condemns the pseudo-philosophy of the eighteenth century. The value of individuals is sunk in the vastness of general results; all the impassioned feelings and generous associations, which are nourished by private attachments, and which can live on nothing else, are sacrificed to a system; and, amidst perplexed calculations of universal happiness, we find ourselves insensibly forgetting our duty to our neighbour.

There are various sciences to which it is common with political economy that they treat of man, and that they depend on *grouping*; but which yet seem to possess some *compensating principle*, that corrects what may be called the tendency to ossification. Take two, which at first view might seem the most suspicious, those of government and public law; and (that the comparison may be fair) commit them to the hands, not of a practical statesman, but of a sage in his closet. Both of them are conversant with human nature; and both generalise. But then both involve, within the scope of their immediate operation, not merely, like political economy, some of the deepest, but some also of the grandest passions of our nature. They address man, also, as a moral agent; and this, not by implication, but primarily. They tell of his rights and duties: and in the very sound of the former there is something inspiring, nor can it be uttered without conveying to us the notion of mental stubbornness and moral elevation; while the correlative word *duties* bears with it all the awfulness and sacredness of a term applicable only to rational and responsible beings.

The case is different with political economy. Notwithstanding the excellence of the *end* which it proposes, there is certainly little, in its

subject-matter, to redeem the above defect in its nature. As far as respects the philosophy of the science, it must be allowed, that the principal object of pursuit is the physical, or what may, with more propriety, be termed the *animal*, welfare of mankind. In the pages, therefore, of the political economist, the species seldom assumes a refined or ennobling appearance; the terrestrial portion, the sediment, of our nature, desecrated from its moral and intellectual elements, commands the whole attention; and the creature whom the poet describes as "in action like an angel, in apprehension like a god," is reduced to the form (a form certainly neither *express* nor *admirable*) of a tool-making, money-making, comfort-loving, sensual biped.

Let us not be misunderstood. That the study of the wealth of nations is a study of inconsiderable importance, that it has no power of interesting the attention, or that the points of view to which it leads us are never sublime and imposing, we are far from insinuating. It were surprising, if speculations which have for their bent and end the discovery of extensive practical truth, did not possess these qualities. The example, however, of some of the abstruser parts of the mathematics, satisfactorily proves the fact, that the characteristics just mentioned may, in a high degree, belong to a science, which yet never comes home to the bosom; which, with whatever other dignity it may be clothed, puts forth no pretensions to the sublime of morals or of sentiment, and in which it is even conceivable that very eminent attainments should be made by a wretch of low thoughts and a hard heart. The case which we intend this to illustrate, is certainly less strong, and is not, perhaps, altogether parallel; yet economical science has always struck us as deficient in that warmth and attractiveness which result either from a forcible and sustained appeal to the benevolent

eelings, or from the excitation of our sympathy in behalf of the nobler capacities and destinies of human nature.

If, in any instance, these objections held good, they must press with peculiar force against lucubrations on the principles of population. Certainly, it is sufficiently humiliating to hear a body of rational and immortal beings counted up, as if they were so many head of great cattle; the increase or decrease of a breed of men, made the subject of as cool a discussion, as if they were a breed of South-downs or Merinoes; and the stocking of a country with inhabitants, noticed as an event about equally familiar with the stocking of a warren or a fish-pond. This phraseology, however, offensive as it is, is, in a great measure, inseparable from the disquisitions in which it is employed; and, in effect, has obviously grown out of the very nature of those disquisitions, which, like all others, cannot be commodiously or expeditiously managed, excepting by the machinery of cant terms.

In the hands, however, of so liberal and enlightened a writer as Mr. Malthus, these subjects would have been in a great degree purged of their faults, had it not been that he unfortunately wrote under certain peculiar views and impressions, which collaterally, in some respects, tended perhaps to aggravate the evil. We have, on a former occasion*, hazarded some comments on the philosophical system of this able author, and have referred to this source, in part, that character of *inclemency* which his manner occasionally assumes. It shall here only be added, that the passage which, of all others, the assailants of the *Essay on Population* are apt to quote from that work, as completely damnatory of the whole, appears to have derived its harshness from no other origin. We allude to that in which it is proposed, that, after the

abrogation of the poor laws, every man who marries without being able to support a family, should be left to starve*. The motives that dictated this proposal, were beyond all question humane; but the unqualified form which it wears, and the decisive terms in which it is couched, appear to savour too strongly of that fearless spirit of generalising, and that stern disdain of the mere *instincts* of benevolence, to which a strenuous advocate for the paramount obligation of utility is in danger of being insensibly inured. We have adverted to this passage, because Mr. Ingram lays a very great stress upon it.

Besides this, Mr. Malthus wrote to rebuke and repel the "unholy speculations," as they have been justly styled, of Mr. Godwin. To dispel visionary dreams of a future philosophical perfection, and to silence ignorant clamours against the institution of government, it was his object to shew, that the evils charged on the frame of civil society rather resulted from the passions of human nature. By all this, he did not, we may safely presume, intend to imply, philosophically speaking, the *necessity* of vice, although, from the very nature of his purpose, his expressions would be in danger of assuming that colour, and although some of them have actually assumed it. Thus we would account and allow for a sentence or two, which have given Mr. Ingram great offence.

Such, we submit, is the natural history of some of the prejudices which the discoveries on population have encountered from many men of piety and benevolence. It is not, however, meant to be denied, that the results of those discoveries are in themselves, and especially at first view, somewhat repulsive. They appear to straiten, in a degree, the condition of human nature, by imposing on it hard terms. Just under our feet, a permanent source

* *Christian Observer* for 1807, p. 450.

* *Essay*, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.

seems to be laid bare, at first sight, of calamity and vice; on the calmest review, of at least inconvenience. Yet it does seem probable, that, but for the extrinsic considerations already detailed, the jealousies which it was *peculiar* to the hypothesis in question to excite, would have soon died away, and that it would have struggled through the thickness of its own atmosphere; but it has unfortunately been involved in more than native gloom. It seems hardly necessary to add, that prejudice leads to misconception; and that thus we are inclined to account for the misconceptions of Mr. Ingram and others on this subject. But though it was, in this case, almost natural to mistake, this is a sort of defence available only for the errors of the dull or the shallow, and we pay Mr. Ingram no great compliment in refusing him the benefit of it. Highly respecting, indeed, the motives from which and the manliness with which he has arrayed himself against opinions that he believed to be wrong and pernicious, we cannot think his opposition sufficiently discriminate, or altogether exempt from blame.

But we must now attempt a more particular analysis of the sentiments held by Mr. Malthus and those of the present writer; a process of *comparative anatomy*, from which it may, we trust, in some measure appear what these authors respectively hold, and how little they are essentially at variance. Every system of doctrine must consist of principles and of practical conclusions, and this division we shall keep in view. Only, in stating the principles of Mr. Malthus's system, we shall be allowed, so long as we do them essential justice, to illustrate them in our own language, and even to accompany them with such minor qualifications as seem to us expedient.

Suppose a very small district;—call it, for the sake of distinctness, an island of ten miles square;—and suppose its utmost physical powers of production to be equal to the maintenance of three thousand per-

sons. Let this island have been planted, in consequence of a shipwreck or otherwise, with a small population, which, however, gradually expanding by the usual course of increase, shall at length attain its full complement of three thousand. The island may be now said to be saturated. If, therefore, the inhabitants continue to marry as fast as before, the next generation will be too numerous to be all comfortably sustained, and must be put on short allowance; and if they still marry on at the same rate, subsistence of course becomes more and more difficult, and much distress must ensue. The distress is aggravated by the diseases which poor or unwholesome living creates, or increases, or confirms. The burden, however, will fall, not on the richer members of this petty community, who had previously the power of commanding so much more than is necessary to sustain life, but principally on the lowest class, who already can barely support a family. But a family, many of them will now find it absolutely impossible to support; marriage will become more rare among them; and in this manner, as well as by the increased unwholesomeness of living, the excess of population will be checked.

This case is a clear, but it is almost an imaginary one; because we know not what may be the limits to the possible improvement of the arts of cultivation, that is, to the productive powers of the earth. Let us therefore next inquire, whether the evils which have been described may not exist long before the utmost limit of production is reached. Suppose, now, the two or three chief men of our island to have landed estates upon it, considerable in proportion to its extent; and to have laid out a good part of their properties in parks, or pleasure-grounds, or racing-grounds, or even, through neglect, to have left entire spots perfectly waste. Now if these personages do not *choose* to convert all this land, of which they are the

lawful owners, into a resource of subsistence for the community, who shall compel them to do so? And in the mean time, is it not as if it had never been? Whenever, then, the population of the island attains that point at which the whole soil of the island, diminished by this unproductive part of the soil, can maintain it, *there* the stoppage takes place. There, the difficulty, the dearth, the resort to unwholesome provisions, the distress, the diseases, begin to enter the scene; the lower orders, as before, are the principal victims; and the melancholy routine of evil terminates, as before, in the diminished frequency of marriages, and the consequent repression of the excess of population. The artificial barrier is as complete an obstacle as the natural limit. It is not, indeed, in nature impassable; but, in fact, it is effectual. The evil might possibly be remedied; but, so long as the rights of property are respected, it is without any actual remedy. The curative exists, but it is not applied, because it exists in other hands than those of the sufferers.

It may, nevertheless, be urged, that the evil does in reality remedy itself, and that by the following process. When population exceeds its due measure, the price of labour falls because there are more labourers than before, and the price of provisions rises because there are more consumers than before; the wages of labour thus becoming lower, and the value of produce higher, the farmer may afford an increased rent; the rise of rents at once tempts and enables the proprietor to undergo the expence of bringing fresh lands into tillage; and the operation, consequently, winds up by the extension of cultivation and the augmentation of the general funds of subsistence. But, conceding in the most lavish manner all this, there are still three things to be observed. First; that which induces the labourer to sell his labour cheap and to buy his bread dear, is hunger, and the cries of a

hungry household. But the additional inducement which this state of things holds out to the proprietor to extend cultivation, is only the prospect of an inconsiderable addition to means already sufficient, if not ample. It is a question *de vitâ et sanguine* with the former; with the latter, it is only the consideration, whether he shall somewhat sacrifice his ease, or somewhat retrench his luxuries, that he may somewhat enlarge his fortune. The pressure of this consideration on his mind can never be so powerful as the pressure of want, sickness, and despondency on the mind of the labourer: that is, the remedy cannot be commensurate with the evil. Secondly; the wants of the one party are exigent and immediate; while the advantages for which the other is to exert himself, are distant, and, in some measure, contingent. The stimulus, therefore, which must impel the landed proprietor to those measures from which alone the community can expect relief, acts too faintly for the urgency of the occasion; and in this view, even if in no other, the remedy is by no means adequate to the disease. Thirdly; the relief, however well, in other respects, adapted to the crisis, will be inefficient, because it will come too late. It is not merely the interval between seed-time and harvest, which is to be here considered, but still more the extreme slowness of the gradations by which the *education* (if it may be so called) of new lands is completed. What future wonders might result from the movements of the plough, it would be of little purpose to inquire, if the hind who followed it were in daily danger of starving. Were, therefore, the proposed remedy to be in itself even commensurate with the evil complained of, still it could by no means keep pace with it in point of time.

Whether the state of things which has been delineated can be considered as a case of *excessive population*, is altogether a question about

names. It may be enough to know that the effects of such a situation on the happiness of the society are identically the effects which a population literally excessive would occasion. It seems of more consequence to observe, that the situation itself may arise, not merely out of that partial stagnation of landed property to which we have traced it, but from a variety of other causes. Of these the most prominent, perhaps, are a low state of agricultural science, and the prevalent use of some of the more expensive kinds of produce. Our limits preclude us from an attempt to analyse the operation of these causes. The analysis, however, would be far from difficult; and the reader who is disposed to follow it out, has only to bear in mind the brute inertness of ignorance, and the obstinate inveteracy of habit, and to recollect, that, as truth is said to possess a power of self-propagation, so in the two principles just mentioned, beyond all others, there resides a power of self-perpetuation.

But there may seem room to remark, that, when our island is transferred within the precincts of Europe, two new resources against an excessive population are laid open; the one, supplies of foreign provisions; the other, emigration.

The international circulation of grain, in obedience to the fluctuations of the demand for it, is beneficial to the great commonwealth of nations. The advantage is less clear, when one nation maintains a superabundance of inhabitants directly at the expence of another; for such evidently is the consequence, where a country is habitually fed out of the vital means of a foreign state. Besides this, it stands to reason, that, in order to meet the demands of a population that is perpetually overflowing, the foreign supply must be kept perpetually increasing. Now the maximum of this increase must be determined by the power of purchasing on the one side, and the power of affording on the other;

both of which, in nine instances out of ten, will soon reach their limit; and then, what is to become of our excessive population? In the tenth instance indeed, an instance which the history of the Dutch has wonderfully realized, the crisis may be adjourned for a longer time; but rules are always made for the many.

Emigration is doubtless a resource; but a resource occasional, precarious, expensive, disagreeable, and sometimes worse than the malady itself. Indeed, when we recollect, that, under the circumstances here supposed, the emigration is strictly *compulsory*, we need only designate it by its true name, that of *perpetual exile*, to display its real merits, and to illustrate the nature of those evils from which sufferings like this can be considered as a refuge.

In the above details, although we have adopted our own methods of illustration, and rather conveyed, perhaps, our own impressions of Mr. Malthus's hypothesis, than rigidly enunciated the principles of the hypothesis itself, yet we are not aware of having transgressed, by any sensible deviation, from the doctrines of our master. Now let us observe in what manner all this is opposed by the author before us. Without any minute transcription of his remarks, we shall content ourselves with copying a single paragraph, in which we seem to get at the heart and marrow of his sentiments.

"It is not necessary that I should pursue Mr. M. through the whole of what he has advanced on the checks of population; as similar observations may be extended to the rest. Sufficient has been said to convince us, that the most deplorable instances of wretchedness are to be sought for in the most thinly inhabited communities, rather than the most populous. If so, the sufferings cannot with propriety be attributed to an excess of population, when ample subsistence might be produced with the greatest ease. To what causes, then, are they chiefly to be referred? Manifestly, to indolence, improvidence, insecurity of property, and other such causes connected with vice, and human imperfections. Inspire the same nations with a spirit of industry and activity;

render property secure, and persuade them to exchange habits of plunder and rapine for agricultural employments; and they will soon acquire an abundance of subsistence to supply the wants of a rapidly increasing population. Thus it seems, that in a vicious, degraded, and unenlightened community, the population presses on the limits of subsistence from the earliest ages. Promote virtue and intelligence, and that period may be extended to almost an unmeasurable distance." p. 27.

This passage may lead the reader to a pretty clear suspicion of a circumstance, respecting which a perusal of Mr. Ingram's work has distinctly satisfied us. It is this; that, with relation to the *principles* of Mr. Malthus (and these, it must be recollected, are now under our consideration) the whole question has now become nearly a *logomachy*. Mr. Malthus has, in his work, entered into a minute investigation of the peculiar checks to population that are at this moment operating throughout the various nations of the world, from the cannibalism of the savages in the Andaman islands, to the infanticide of the civilised Chinese. All this he has done, with a view to shew, what we have already attempted to illustrate, that the phenomenon of an excessive population does not depend on the actual populousness of a country, or on its physical capabilities of producing food; but that the number of the inhabitants is regulated by the *actual* quantum of produce, which actual quantum may be kept down far below the *possible* quantum, from the general indolence or improvidence, the prevalent insecurity of property, and from various other causes which bounties on population will not remove. Our present author, after having accompanied Mr. Malthus on this voyage of inspection, suddenly turns short on his guide with a remark, that, according to his own statements, it is absurd to talk of an *excessive* population, since, in the instances enumerated, population is restrained, not by the inability to procure food,

but by the indolence, the improvidence, and the other causes, which prevent the people from availing themselves of their own resources. Is not this a battle about *terms*?

The aversion of Mr. Ingram to the phraseology which he thus denounces, has its foundation, we doubt not, in an excellent motive. He considers it as laying the blame rather on nature, or, to speak rationally, on providence, than on ourselves; and he therefore finds it highly objectionable. The scruples, which have occasioned the objection, are greatly to be honoured; and certainly the phraseology in question should rather be abandoned, than any risk incurred of wounding a pious mind, or impairing a religious feeling. It appears to us, however, that, even if the world were peopled up to its utmost capacity of production, and therefore of course were every where peopling to excess, no objection could thence be raised against the divine government.—But to this subject we shall hereafter recur; and, in the mean time, must remark, that no change of phraseology would affect the two main practical conclusions which appear to result from Mr. Malthus's principles.

These conclusions we now proceed to consider.

1. Since the *effective* population can never exceed the means of living, and since all beyond is merely the show and name of increase, because lives then begin to be embittered and shortened in proportion as births are multiplied;—for this reason, the only method by which a legislature should endeavour to augment the populousness of a country, is by augmenting its resources of subsistence.

2. Since the evil of what is called an excessive population consists simply in this, that individuals are produced into the world for whom there are no adequate means of living, every man will act well, both for himself and for the community, who abstains from marriage

will he has some prospect of being able to maintain a family.

These conclusions, after all, perhaps virtually involve whatever is essential in the premises from which they are deduced; and it appears the less necessary to contend for principles in their abstract form, which seem sufficiently embodied in maxims of admitted authority. Whoever concedes that we must act *as if* the doctrines of population were true, not only has conceded all that, for practice, is material, but may be presumed to believe, however unconsciously, the theoretical truth of propositions, of which he thus allows the practical utility. It is here, as in concerns of a far higher nature; the principle may be traced in its effects, the tree known by its fruits.

How far the conclusions just mentioned coincide with those of Mr. Ingram, we may judge from the following summary, given by himself, of the views which actuated him in this publication.

"In short, the design of the present enquiry is to excite us to the promotion of virtue and liberal knowledge, and to leave the result to Providence. We must not attempt to govern too much, nor derange the level of population by presumptuous efforts to raise or depress it. We are very far, therefore, from generally approving of such encouragements to marriage, as operate as a kind of bounty independently of any consideration of the means of supporting the families that may be produced. But, on the other hand, such discouragements of marriage, as are a species of bounty on celibacy, are still more deserving of reprobation. An instance or two of this kind may be adduced. An estate or an annuity may be offered to a person on the condition that he shall continue unmarried. Of this nature are the monastic institutions in Roman Catholic countries, and fellowships in our own universities. The small number that are restrained altogether, or for a time, from marriage by fellowships in this country, would have a very trivial effect upon the state of the community, were it not for the class of people that are thereby prevented from marrying; that they are for the most part clergymen, or designed for holy orders; and that a large proportion of them, as residents of the universities, are intrusted with an im-

portant part of the education of the most valuable orders of society. The level of academical virtue is much depressed in consequence of this regulation, and discipline is variously impeded; at the same time that the clerical character suffers greatly in the public estimation. A multitude of other injurious consequences might be enumerated as resulting from the same cause. But this is not the place to enlarge upon them.

"Another species of objectionable discouragement of marriage, or bounty on celibacy, is, when any incumbrances or expences are imposed on a married man, in addition to those which he naturally brings on himself by having a family, from which a bachelor is exempted, or can liberate himself with greater ease. Of this nature are a large portion of the assessed taxes. There are many situations in which a bachelor may live very comfortably, and even luxuriously, without possessing any of the objects of assessed taxes. He might, indeed, regard them as incumbrances and restraints on his pleasures, while a married man in the same rank of life has hardly the power of avoiding them.

"But if we do not approve of such powerful inducements, as would operate as a kind of bounty either on marriage or celibacy, we are by no means to infer, that we are to be perfectly passive, or neutral. The principle designed to be illustrated by the present enquiry is, that we are to promote marriage and population chiefly, in consequence of encouraging industry, repressing luxury and vice, and multiplying the means of subsistence. We are, therefore, to be vigilant and active in promoting by gentle means such arrangements in the condition of society, such laws and institutions, and such prevailing sentiments, as may conduce to the advancement of virtue, and, at the same time, contribute to increase the quantity of food, and encourage the economical distribution of it." pp. 93—101.

What is this but a positive subscription, under our author's own hand, to the two rules which have been represented as comprising the essence of the practical lessons that belong to the subject before us? The extract just transcribed is certainly all this; but it is also something more. Combined with various expressions elsewhere dispersed throughout these disquisitions, it has led us to the discovery, not only of what the respectable author himself in a practical view maintains, but of

what he imagines his adversary to have maintained. The general tenor of his observations would beget a suspicion that it was the object of Mr. Malthus to repress, not the excess of population merely, but absolutely population itself; to arm therefore law and authority, as well as opinion, against early marriages; and this against all early marriages, as such, not exclusively against those which should be contracted without the fair prospect of a livelihood. Mr. Ingram always speaks as if the point at issue were, not the adjustment of population to the national resources, but positive *depopulation*. In this he is consistent; and his conception of the practical conclusions of those whose opinions he opposes, accurately harmonizes with his views of their fundamental principles. He plainly imagines that the world cannot be too thinly peopled to suit their taste, and thence naturally infers that depopulation is the grand aim of their philosophy. He lays it down as indisputable, that, on their system, Terra del Fuego must be a brighter scene of happiness than England; and then cannot refuse them the credit of wishing to recast their own country after this barbarian model.

These misapprehensions with respect to the nature of the system are not confined to our author, but have attained no inconsiderable currency. It has accordingly received the nickname of the *check-population system* from Mr. Cobbett, a gentleman whose judgment, naturally a very acute one, is so completely ridden by one of the most bigoted minds and one of the most *porcupine* tempers in existence, that he combines the two faculties, in themselves rare, and rarer in combination, of understanding or misunderstanding a thing exactly at pleasure. That there may be, nevertheless, for these representations, some colour, though no foundation; that Mr. Malthus overrates the actual tendency to early marriages, exaggerates the

evils consequent on such a tendency, and somewhat overlooks the dangers in the opposite scale; are facts perfectly consistent, not only with entire rectitude of intention on the part of that author, but with essential correctness on that of his system. He has used, among others, the unfortunate expression, that "we want every possible help that we can get, to counteract" the tendency to early marriages. This declaration, in itself certainly not the happiest, appears still more questionable in the hands of an objector, where it appears rent away from the context, and thus divested of those accompaniments which might quench its glare of colouring. In effect, however, as to marriage, the restriction principally recommended by this writer is nothing more than that which might result from the general diffusion among the lower orders of a dislike to those imprudent matches, that are formed without any prospect of a maintenance, and terminate in certain beggary. On the other hand, he invariably intends these dissuasives,—dissuasives not from marriage, but from rash and sinful marriage,—to be accompanied with the strongest dissuasives from every vicious and sinful gratification.

In what degree marriages ought to be encouraged, or the reverse, it were highly interesting to consider. The question is, indeed, involved in some confusion, and that, because the grounds on which it is to be determined have not been settled with any precision. The reader will perhaps bear with us, if, without hazarding a very decisive judgment on the matter, we endeavour at least to place it in a proper train for decision, or, according to a homely but expressive phrase, to *set it on its right legs*.

The defence of bounties on population, *merely as such*, seems now to be generally abandoned. Mr. Ingram, we have seen, leaves them to their fate; nor can it, we conceive, be any longer doubted, that the

spontaneous developement of population is always sufficiently rapid, and that all artificial encouragements of it are so far ineligible.

But it is almost impossible that a bounty on population should exist, which can be considered *merely* as a bounty on population. The frame of civil society consists of such numerous parts, so closely united, and so curiously complicated, that a legislative regulation can hardly be conceived, which shall touch it only in a single point, or of which we can predicate an exclusive influence in any particular direction. It is with political philosophy as with chemistry; she may resolve the objects on which she speculates into their original constituents, but she seldom finds them actually existing in an uncompounded and elemental state. A measure may be devised, or may be contemplated, with a view to a single specific end; but, in practice, its operation will be complex. If, for example, it acts in the first instance as a bounty on population, it may perhaps, by some collateral benefit, more than repair or avert the evils which its direct and immediate tendency is to produce. In its ultimate effect, it may even prove a premium on the means of subsistence; thus not only correcting its own mischiefs, but augmenting the effective no less than the numerical strength of a country.

These principles being laid down, let them be applied to the great question of systematic bounties on marriage. A premium on marriage may be considered in a two-fold point of view: partly, it encourages an excess of population, and therefore the ill consequences that must result from such excess; partly, it encourages the formation of domestic habits of life, and therefore all those amiable and useful virtues which domestic habits of life naturally cherish. It is, therefore, made up of good and evil; and the question is, which of these two elements predominates in the compound.

The advocate for the premium re-

minds us, that, as men now are, protracted celibacy is too often another name for dissipation and licentiousness: that to tolerate vices so criminal, and so injurious to the community, from an apprehension of certain other vices to be hereafter bred by an over-peopled territory, is to buy remote and contingent advantage at the expense of certain and present evil: that even in this bargain, bad as it is, we cheat ourselves; because the habits of wastefulness and improvidence which celibacy favours, impair the national funds of subsistence, and may, in that sense, be said to encourage an excess of population; while *a marrying people* are naturally industrious and economical, and their resources, therefore, increase and multiply as fast as themselves.

The opponents of the bounty argue, that however wedded love may be a friend to virtue, poverty is no friend to wedded love; that, when want has once killed the domestic affections, and dissolved the charm of the "mysterious law," there cannot be a more fruitful source of contention, unhappiness, low intemperance, and wickedness, than the union which still subsists under the abused name of marriage; that the profligacy of the father of a family is infinitely more disgusting and pestilent than the excesses of single life: added to this, that the cries of a starving family are found to be the strongest possible temptation to every sort of dishonesty, villany, and crime; and, finally, that, if the question be at all doubtful, we may be content with leaving nature to follow her own course, instead of obtruding on her process regulations and enactments of an ambiguous tendency, or assuming the responsibility of correcting her errors.

Now we have no hesitation in saying, that, with respect to certain states of society, the former of these pleaders has the best of the argument. Let us imagine some outcast corner of the earth, tenanted by mere Yahoos; some country, where

the soil seems, as it were, to have just purified into life; some Terra Del Fuego, where the miserable human animals prolong their degraded *half-existence* on casual roots, barks, reptiles, or carcasses; some Chimerian region of moral barbarism, where marriage, both the name and the thing, both the divine ordinance and the civil contract, is utterly unknown. Suppose this region, by some means or other, placed under the control of an enlightened legislator, and conceive this legislator to confine his efforts among his new disciples to the simple institution, under some strong inducement, of connubial alliances. Could it be made a matter of disputation, whether or not he had conferred upon them an immense benefit? Would any man dare to even raise the question? Or could any disputant on the subject require to be reminded, that the *connubio prohibere* *pago* has been, in all ages, esteemed one of the brightest achievements that could immortalize the benefactors of mankind?

That violent course of treatment, however, which is the only restorative of suspended animation, may itself be incompatible with a state of perfect health, and therefore inapplicable to the slighter derangements of the system. In the *Arceon*-society (if society it can be called) which has been described, the depravity and wretchedness resulting from the want of marriage, prevail to a degree so enormous, that they can scarcely be bought off at too great an expense. The policy, too, which we have imagined our legislator to pursue, will rapidly augment the means and resources of this pitiable people, by communicating to them, through the medium of more regular habits, that foresight and that diligence, of which they can properly be said to have too little, because in fact they have absolutely none. But that this same policy will be equally suitable to a race less intensely barbarous, is by no means apparent; and to a nation

civilized according to the average rate of civilization in modern Europe, there surely are many reasons for doubting whether it will be suitable at all. To weigh, in this last instance, the probable mischiefs against the probable blessings of a systematic encouragement of marriage, would certainly be extremely perplexing; but happily it does not seem requisite, as there is a short road to all that is really wanted, a practical conclusion on the subject. It appears, then, to us, that the attention and expense which it must cost the legislature to maintain the bounties in question, might be employed on arrangements that would secure all the advantages of a bounty, unmingled with its faults. Those domestic and public virtues, which it is proposed to promote through a circuitous and somewhat uncertain channel, may be directly fostered by the governing authority. Either they may be diffused by the general establishment of parochial seminaries for religious and moral instruction; or, if needs must be, they may be immediately encouraged by the institution of national rewards, to be bestowed on such of the lower classes as shall have distinguished themselves by their industrious, frugal, sober, orderly, and devout lives.

The criterion of judgment which has here been applied to the case of bounties on marriage, is equally applicable to various other questions of a similar description. Such are those of private benevolence, public charities, bounties on celibacy, taxes on marriage, and various others that might be mentioned. But all detailed consideration of these subjects we must decline; and therefore shall quit them with the observation, that, on some of the heads just mentioned, especially that of private benevolence, the sentiments of Mr. Ingram please us better than those of Mr. Malthus, who is, perhaps, somewhat too eager to disseminate dissuaves from marriage.

It remains only that we advert to a very important subject suggested

by the publication before us; the compatibility of the doctrines of population with the idea of the moral government of the world.

"Upon the first perusal of these sentiments, the religious mind revolts at the apparent want of intelligence, and contrivance, in the Author of the creation, in infusing a principle into the nature of man, which it required the utmost exertion of human prudence and ingenuity to counteract. I shall not, however, enlarge upon this topic; as it is not always in the power of human intellect to fathom the counsels of Divine Wisdom. But the virtuous heart recoils still more forcibly, at what is an obvious inference from Mr. M's theory; that vice is a necessary evil to correct the imperfections, that exist in the works of Providence." p. 5.

And afterwards Mr. Ingram remarks, that "if such sentiments are admitted, we must cease to regard benevolence as the predominant feature in the Almighty mind."

The first question appears to be, how much vice and misery are really "*necessary*," according to the sentiments so heavily reprobated. Marriages, on this system, ought certainly to be somewhat later than otherwise; and we need hardly add, that, on this and on every sufferable system, celibacy ought to be virtuous. The inconvenience, therefore, of a short term of *moral restraint*, of a prudential and virtuous continuance, for a very few years, in the unmarried state, must, according to the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, be endured by the majority of mankind, or be avoided at the risk of greater ills. This is all, however, that *need* be endured; in other words, this is all that is *necessary*. If this comparatively easy burden be contentedly borne, nature, if we may be allowed the expression, has done her worst: if we refuse the yoke, or break it from off our necks, we have to thank ourselves, and not nature, for the severer calamities that may ensue.

This simple statement may prove how injurious and rash is the allegation, that, by the theory in question, vice is a *necessary* evil. The only necessary evil is a limited pe-

riod of moral restraint. To rebel against this restraint is vice, and it is an immense evil, but it is not a necessary one, unless all vice is necessary; for all vice is the indulgence of human inclinations, in defiance of the divine command, and may plead the hardship of the command as an apology.

But every additional law, it may be contended, increases the difficulty of obedience, and consequently multiplies the chances of transgression, for "where there is no law, there is no sin." It is hard, we are told, to impose laws that cannot be kept; and, if the imposition of this supposed *moral restraint* has, in fact, issued in a great part of the vice and misery in the world, the government of the great Legislator seems liable to the imputation of cruelty. The answer is, that this method of reasoning against the possible existence of the law from the probable effects of its imposition, will not do. The effects, in this case, however they are to be accounted for, actually exist. The quantity of evil produced, is no greater on the system of Mr. Malthus, than on any other system which may please his accusers better; because, on both, it is the quantity which we see and feel to prevail. The question is not, which system occasions the more or the less of vice. The amount of the vice in the world is, to use the mathematician's phrase, *given*; and all this has resulted from the violation of some divine law or other. If therefore, according to the objection now in view, the transgression of laws is to be a ground of crimination against the laws themselves, the objection, as against the moral government of the world, is equally good, whether the new theory of population be just or not, and of course can furnish no possible disproof of that theory.

Still the objector may contend, that, to attribute vice definitely to the physical situation of man, appears, in a measure, as if we acquitted him of his moral responsi-

ity. The direct discussion of this point might lead us into unprofitable subtleties. We shall therefore abbreviate the disputation by summarily yielding all that is required of us; by conceding that the appointment of what we have called, in Mr. Malthus's sense of the term, *moral restraint*, not only directly rendered the condition of humanity harder than otherwise, but, by the injunction of a conduct difficult to be maintained, indirectly tended to increase the sum of vice, and of the misery which vice engenders. The question is,—a question not to be agitated without the utmost caution and the most profound humility,—Does all this, supposing it true, furnish any presumption against the equity of the Supreme Ruler?

Now, here we would ask, by what rule we are to ascertain, *how much* of moral or of physical evil is consistent with the supremacy of infinite perfection? We all perceive, if we enjoy the use of our senses, the existence of evil in the universe; and we all believe, if we have not made utter shipwreck of our faith, the existence of a governing Providence: Who shall undertake to assign the utmost proportion in which the apparent imperfection of the government may co-exist with the undoubted perfections of the Governor? We all know, that to reconcile these existences, is a task which human intelligence finds unspeakably difficult: Who shall undertake to mark out the point at which the difficulty becomes insuperable? In one word, when the principle is once admitted (and it has been admitted on the best grounds), that the evil which manifestly prevails, is reconcileable with the divine goodness and power, all attempts to define the exact limits beyond which this reconciliation could not be effected, seem to us altogether improper and presumptuous. The terms of probation enjoined on man might, as far as appears, have been sensibly more rigorous than they are, the occasions of delinquency might have been more

frequent, and the temporal penalties consequent upon delinquency far more terrible, without therefore furnishing to the feeble, the short-sighted, the ignorant creature, the slightest handle of complaint against the supremely wise and merciful Creator. To argue then, *a priori*, that a theory must be false, because it tends somewhat to augment the perplexities in which the great question of the divine government is involved, is a proceeding which, although in intention pious, savours, in fact, of a dogmatism ill suited to the condition of human nature.

But would it not have been equitable at least to apprise man of his situation, and to acquaint him with the terms on which he held his being? And how then has it happened, that, in thorough ignorance of these pretended rules of population, the world has been suffered to grope through the extent of sixty centuries? To this question the reply is, that the world was not left to this thorough ignorance. Of every thing essential to be known, we were fully apprised. Every man knew, that he would do right in deferring to form any matrimonial connection, till he should have a rational prospect of the means of maintaining a family. His own circle of experience, how limited soever, could hardly fail to furnish him with exemplifications of the mischiefs resulting from precipitate marriages. What might be the average time of marriage to the human race, he was ignorant; but he could scarcely avoid knowing, whether or not his own turn was arrived. His knowledge, in short, was sufficient for a moral agent, though not for a political philosopher.

It is the assertion of Mr. Ingram, that the hypothesis on which we are commenting, introduces into the universe "an apparent want of intelligence and contrivance." On the contrary, only leaving untouched the general question of the admission of evil, this hypothesis appears to ascribe to Providence a principle of operation, on which

many parts of the grand machine of the universe are unquestionably constructed. It is here, as in a thousand instances, where it seems to have been designed that the preservation of the species should be secured at any rate, and where, for this end, a prodigious and exuberant power of production appears to have been afforded, which, at the same time, from its recoil, causes partial inconveniencies. Here, also, as throughout this "universal frame," the inconveniencies always strike us as the indirect and occasional, not as the primary and intended consequences of the rule*. The law of multiplication was given to the human race, not that they might be mocked with the visionary appearance of increase while the limits of subsistence should form an impassable barrier, but that, under all circumstances, and in spite of every accident, myriads of beings might continue to be brought into existence, capacious of knowledge and joy, endowed with moral responsibility, and gifted with the option of everlasting happiness.

But, according to our author, the new theories of population are at war, not only with the leading principles of natural religion, but also with some of the distinctive precepts of Christianity. He particularly points to the restrictions which Mr. Malthus would impose on private charity, and condemns them as totally subversive of many of the exhortations contained in the New Testament. On this representation we would submit two remarks. First; we have already intimated our belief that Mr. Malthus has too much underrated, not indeed the importance of benevolent feelings, —this is, on the contrary, expressed or implied in every single page of his work,—but the value of what is vulgarly called charity, or alms-giving. This depreciation, however, of a particular mode of benevolence, may, as has before been stated, consist, both with the most benevolent

purposes in the mind of the person to whom it is imputed, and also with the radical justness of his general views. In the next place; Mr. Ingram will surely concede to Mr. Malthus, that the scriptural injunctions to particular duties were never intended to be acted upon with an indiscriminate and undiscerning adherence to the *letter* of the commandment. The texts that inculcate alms-giving, like the passages that recommend submission to injuries, were obviously intended to enounce, in a lively and pointed manner, the necessity of certain dispositions of mind, which, however, it will be admitted, may greatly vary their mode of acting according to circumstances. Philanthropy should be rational and intelligent, as are the beings by whom it is exercised, and whom it is its object to benefit. The benevolence of man towards man should be, like man himself, "of large discourse, looking before and after," considerate amidst all its tenderness, provident amidst all its ardour, securing the concurrent operation of the reason, the conscience, and the heart, and forming the blind and detached impulses of natural feeling into a complete, continuous, and harmonious system of moral action.

An apology is perhaps due to some of our readers, for having detained them so long with what may be deemed barren disquisitions. But, to the greater part of them, we are persuaded, no apology whatever will be needed for the attempt we have made to elucidate a subject, so obviously and immediately affecting the temporal comfort and well-being of the great mass of our population, and which might easily be shewn to have no very remote connection with far more durable interests. An additional plea for the length of the article is this: that since Mr. Ingram and others have reprobated the doctrines of population as a libel on the moral government of God, it was highly proper to examine them, especially as we had declared ourselves favourable to those doctrines.

* This idea admirably developed by Dr. Paley

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE,

&c. &c.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Is the press: *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Percival Stockdale*, by himself;—*Memoirs of Dr. Paley*, by a Gentleman, who was one of his parishioners at Bishopwearmouth;—A volume of *Letters from Bishop Warburton to Bishop Hurd*;—A *View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*, by Mr. Thomas Newenham;—and A volume of *Poems*, by Mr. Thomas Green, of Liverpool, a youth of 17.

Preparing for the press: A *Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, by the Rev. John Robinson, of Ravenstonedale;—and A work on *Capital Punishments*.

Dr. Pearson, the master of Sydney College, Cambridge, has been chosen vice-chancellor of the University, in the room of Dr. Barnes. Mr. Monk, of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been unanimously elected Greek professor, in the room of Mr. Porson.

The Seatonian prize is this year adjudged to the Rev. Mr. Cole, Fellow of Magdalen College, for his poem *On the Holy Wars*.

The *Christian Sabbath* is the subject of the next Norrisian prize essay.

The following subjects are proposed for the Chancellor's prizes in the University of Oxford for the ensuing year, viz. For Latin Verses, *Corinthus*; for an English Essay, *The Love of Our Country*. Twenty pounds will also be given for the best composition, in English verse, on the following subject—*John the Baptist*.

Mr. James Archer, engraver, has invented a mode of engraving bank-notes, which, it is said, cannot fail to prove a check against forgery. Specimens have been submitted to the most distinguished artists, and have received their decided approbation.

On the 9th inst. there was a numerous and

respectable meeting of the inhabitants of London, at the City of London tavern, to establish a subscription for the aid of the patriotic armies in Spain. At the opening of the meeting a letter was read, which had been received by the lord mayor from the chancellor of the exchequer only a few hours before. In this letter, Mr. Perceval, while he professed himself extremely anxious not to repress the benevolent zeal of the inhabitants of the metropolis in favour of the Spanish cause, expressed an apprehension lest their proceedings should either seem to imply a neglect of the Spaniards on the part of government, or should interfere with and impede the measures adopted by his majesty's ministers to supply their wants. Clothing of all kinds had already been amply furnished, and additional supplies were about to be sent. If a subscription, therefore, were to be raised for clothing the Spanish armies, as the advertisement convening the meeting seemed to imply, it would answer no other purpose than that of causing an injurious competition with government. The propriety of these remarks was felt by the meeting; and it was resolved that the subscription which it was proposed to raise should be applied to purposes of relief which would not interfere with the aids furnished by government. The subscription, in London alone, already exceeds 25,000*l*.

The articles ordered for the Spanish armies by government, according to Mr. Perceval's statement, are 91,400 suits of clothing, and cloth for 150,000 more; 50,000 great coats, and cloth for 50,000 more; 35,000 shirts; 1,100,000 yards of linen and calico; and as many shoes as could be procured. Of these articles, a large part had actually been forwarded at different times to Spain.

The remainder of the Literary Intelligence will be found in the Appendix.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Abstract of a Memoir relative to the Translations of the Sacred Scriptures: by the Missionaries in Bengal.

NEARLY fourteen years have elapsed since the first step was taken in this work, by Mr. Carey's application, on his arrival in India, to the Bengalee and Sanskrit languages.

Nearly five years since, circumstances called the attention of the missionaries to the translation of the Scriptures, not merely into the Bengalee language, but into those spoken in the neighbouring countries, and closely allied with the Bengalee by their springing from one common parent, the Sanskrit. Of the indispensable nature of

this duty, as far as within their power, the perishing state of their fellow-creatures around them, and the inestimable value of the word of God as the means of everlasting life, had long impressed them; and the facility of acquiring languages, with the greater part of the words and the idiom of which the Sungskrit and Bengalee had already made them acquainted; the ease with which learned natives could be obtained; the advantages arising from proper helps in the originals, and from having been already accustomed in some degree to the work; the printing press, and the opportunities of casting new founts of types; these, with the hope of the Divine blessing, encouraged them to engage in the work.

The danger of a failure, however, induced them to conceal the fact of their having engaged in such a work till they had advanced so far as to be convinced of its practicability. It was not therefore till after a year's assiduous application to the work that they laid their plan before the public. They proceed to detail the present state of the undertaking.

1. The *Bengalee*. It is already known, that early in 1801 the first edition of the New Testament was published, consisting of 2000 copies, all of which have been distributed. This was followed by an edition of the Pentateuch, consisting of 1000 copies, which have also been some time distributed; and they wait only for funds to put to press a second and improved edition of it. In 1804 an edition of the book of Psalms and the prophecy of Isaiah was published, consisting of nearly 1000 copies, the whole of which have been distributed: a number of the Psalms alone were also printed off, and distributed at the same time. In 1806 another, being properly the third, volume of the Old Testament, containing the book of Job, the book of Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, was published. The fourth, consisting of all the Prophets, is also nearly completed. Of all these they printed 1000 copies. Thus far they have proceeded with the Old Testament: one volume remains, the second, comprising the historical books, from Joshua to Nehemiah, which they expect speedily to put to press.

A second edition of the New Testament becoming necessary, with a view to future improvement, and the state of their finances, a moderate number appeared preferable to a very large edition. They therefore agreed to print 1500 copies. As the desire for the Scriptures, however, seemed great, they thought a selection could be made, of which a larger number might be printed. The

Gospel by St. Luke, the Acts, and the Romans, were chosen for this purpose; the first, as containing a complete account of the Redeemer's life; the second, as exhibiting the gospel in its first promulgation and progress; and the last, as containing a summary of Christian doctrine and practice. Of this selection, an edition of nearly 10,000 was printed.

2. In the *Orissa*, they have been greatly helped. The proportion of words already familiarized to them by the Sungskrit and Bengalee, might be about nine in ten. Nearly the whole of the New Testament is translated, as well as several books of the Old; and in printing they have advanced as far as the middle of St. Luke. The number of copies printing is a thousand.

3. In the *Telinga* and *Kernata* languages, the words already known are about three-fourths: in the former, the translation of the New Testament has advanced as far as the Gospel by St. John, and in the latter to the end of St. Luke. There is a happy similarity between the characters of these two languages.

4. In the *Guzzerattee*, the translation has advanced also as far as the Gospel by St. John. The proportion of words already known is about six in seven, which renders this part of the work easy also. The first sheet of St. Matthew is printed off in the Deva Nagree, the character in which learned works are printed throughout India.

5. In the *Mahratta*, the proportion of words already known is about nine in ten. In this the New Testament is nearly finished, and several books of the Old. The Gospel by Matthew was printed off nearly two years ago, in the Deva Nagree character. They have now, however, cast a fount of types in the current Mahratta character, which will comprise the whole New Testament. Of this edition, which consists of a thousand copies, the Gospel by St. Matthew is nearly all printed.

6. The *Hindoostanee* has admitted perhaps a greater number of foreign words than any of the dialects of India. This mixture is so great as to render two translations necessary; one into that which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic for its supplies of difficult words, and another into that which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungskrit. Indeed the difference in these two kinds is so great, that the gospel translated into the former kind of Hindee, under the auspices of the college of Fort William, is in many places quite unintelligible to Sungskrit Pandits, born and brought up in Hindoosthan; while the Mossaboon

Moonshis have professed, if not felt, equal ignorance relative to common words derived from the Sungskrit. In this Sungskrit-Hindee version, nearly the whole of the New Testament waits for revision, and the book of Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, and some other parts of the Old. They have begun printing the New Testament in the Deva Nagree character. The book of Matthew is nearly finished. The number of copies printing is a thousand.

7. The language of the *Seeks* is a modification of the Hindee, and has nearly the same affinity with the Sungskrit. Although so nearly allied to the Hindee, however, its grammatical terminations are different, and it has a different character, to which the *Seeks* are so much attached, that the mere circumstance of a book being written in it, recommends it strongly to their notice. These considerations have determined the missionaries to present the Scriptures to this nation in their vernacular language and character. A learned *Seek*, eminently skilled in Sungskrit, has been for some time retained for this purpose, and the translation has advanced to the Gospel by St. John.

8. Though the languages spoken by the great mass of people has the first claim on the attention of the missionaries, yet a Sungskrit version of the sacred oracles has appeared to them an object worthy of attention. The language itself, from its copiousness and exquisite grammatical structure, seems fitted to receive the divine oracles beyond almost any other, while its being a language in which the meaning, not only of the terminations, but of every individual word, has been fixed for ages, enables it to retain and preserve the precious treasure with as much firmness perhaps as the Greek itself. The currency of it exceeds that of any other language in India. Every pundit converses in it: the word of God therefore, in this language, will be rendered equally intelligible to the pundits of Nepaul and of Malabar, of Guzzerattee and Cashmire; while its being the language esteemed sacred by the Hindoo pundits, may incline them to read what their fastidiousness would lead them to despise in the vulgar dialects. Under these impressions, they began a translation of the Scriptures into the Sungskrit, which has proceeded so far that the Four Gospels are already printed off. The edition is in the Deva Nagree, the proper Sungskrit character. This version, while it is to them one of the most easy, it is thought will come nearer to the idiom of the original than any of those in the common dialects, its ample and exquisite grammatical apparatus per-

mitting them to follow the Greek, not only in rendering tense for tense and case for case, but generally in the collocation of the words.

9. Respecting the *Persian*, little could be expected from affinity of languages; and, except the assistance to be derived from the currency of a number of Persian words in the Bengalee and Hindoosthance languages, and a few already familiar through the medium of the Hebrew, the missionaries had entirely a new language to acquire. This inclined them to apply to it at an early period; and they had proceeded so far as to complete a great part of the New Testament, as well as the Psalms and some other parts of the Old. Providence, however, has been pleased to provide for this version, by sending them a person peculiarly qualified for the work: Nathaniel Sabat, a native of Arabia, a descendant of Mahomed, and once his devoted follower; who, by residing some years in Persia, has acquired that language in a degree of perfection scarcely to be attained by a European. Circumstances having led him to Bengal, he has been retained for the Persian translation, and is at present at the Mission House, Serampore.

10. The *Chinese*. Through the favour of Providence this version, which once appeared to present almost insuperable difficulties, is now brought into a course, which seems to render it nearly as certain of accomplishment as any of the others. Mr. Lassar, who is engaged in it, is steady and diligent, and through Divine goodness the translation has advanced to the middle of Luke. The young men who with Mr. Marshman have engaged in the study of the Chinese, have applied to it with diligence, and their proficiency has been such as to encourage the hope of the work being continued by the assistance of native Chinese, should any unforeseen circumstance deprive them of Mr. Lassar. The helps afforded in the work have been very great. Among these are to be reckoned a learned Chinese, with whom the young men can converse pretty freely in his own language, and a valuable collection of Chinese books to the amount of nearly 300 volumes; including, among others, two editions of the works of Confucius. But a more valuable acquisition is that of three different Chinese dictionaries; a small one in four volumes 12mo.; another in fourteen volumes 12mo.; and a third, the Imperial Dictionary, in thirty-two volumes 12mo., compiled many years ago by command of the emperor Konghi. This is the standard dic-

tionary in China, and is said to include every Chinese character, both ancient and modern. When these dictionaries are completely accessible, a period by no means distant, it will in due time be in their power to examine the translation with a degree of accuracy, almost equal to that with which the English has been examined. Furnished with these helps, they are enabled to advance rapidly both in the acquisition of the language, and in the translation.—Printing in this language is far from being impracticable; nor is the expense likely to be very great, especially if a person should be sent from England skillful at engraving in wood. The patterns of the letters can be given with accuracy; and through the cheapness of labour in Bengal, it is probable that the Chinese Scriptures may in process of time be printed to nearly as great advantage at Serampore as at Canton or Peking.

11. Providence has also opened a way for translating the Scriptures into the language of the *Burman* empire, a most extensive and populous country. A native of Rangoon has been obtained, who is acquainted with Hindoostanee as well as with his native tongue; by whose assistance a translation of nearly the whole of St. Matthew has been effected. A fount of Burman types is also preparing: their written character (for they have at present no printing among themselves) is distinct and beautiful, and moderate in size.

It will thus be seen, that, of the twelve translations mentioned above, six are in the press, and the other six advanced as far as the third Gospel; and that of those in the press, a second edition of the New Testament, as well as three volumes of the Old, has been printed in one; in two more, the Gospels nearly completed; and in the other three, nearly the Gospel of Matthew;—that in the greater number of these translations, the work has been rendered easy by the affinity of the different languages; and in those of peculiar difficulty, such helps have been unexpectedly furnished by Providence, as the work seemed to require.

On the whole, they are abundantly encouraged; and are ready to indulge the hope, that, under the divine Blessing, this work will be carried forward, not merely to the completion of a first edition, but through successive ones, till the word of God pervade all the countries around them.

In the present state of things in India, it was in many instances necessary to cast new founts of types in several of these languages. Wilkins had led the way in this department; and had brought the casting of Bengalee

types to a high degree of perfection. Soon after settling at Serampore, it pleased Providence to bring to the missionaries the very artist who had wrought with Wilkins in that work. By his assistance they erected a letter foundery; and although he is now dead, he had so fully communicated his art to others, that they carry forward the work of type casting, and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of accuracy which would not disgrace European artists. These have cast two or three founts of Bengalee; and are now casting a fount on a construction which bids fair to diminish the expense of paper, and the size of the book, at least one fourth, without affecting the legibility of the character. Of the Deva Nagree character they have also cast an entire new fount, which is esteemed the most beautiful of the kind in India. It consists of nearly 1000 different combinations of characters; so that the expense of cutting the patterns only, amounted to 1500 rupees, exclusive of metal and casting.

In the Orissa they have been compelled also to cast a new fount of types; as none before existed in that character. The fount consists of about 300 separate combinations, and the whole expense of cutting and casting has amounted to at least a thousand rupees. In the Mahratta country a character is current among the men of business which is much smaller, and varies in form from the Nagree, though the number and power of the letters nearly correspond. A fount has been cast in this character, in which they have begun to print the Mahratta New Testament, as well as a Mahratta dictionary. The expense of casting, &c. has been much the same.

Three more founts are needed; one in the Burman, another in the Telinga and Kernala, and a third in the Seek's character. These, with the Chinese characters, will enable them to go through the work. An excellent and extensive fount of Persian was received from England, last year. The expense of these founts of types has not been thrown on the fund for translations; as they are sometimes used for other purposes.

All the monies subscribed for the purpose of translations from the beginning of the mission, in England, America, and the East Indies, amount to 6,725*l*. The expenditure, hitherto, has been 5,180*l*.

Past experience enables them to speak with a degree of precision respecting the probable expense of finishing the whole of the twelve translations. The printing of ten of these, namely, the Bengalee (Old Testament), the Sungskrit, the Hindoe, the Orissa,

the Mahratta, the Telinga, the Kernata, the Guzzerattee, the Burman (New Testament) and that in the language of the Seeks, will probably be completed in about four years. Less than half that period, however, will probably complete the New Testament in several of these;—viz. the Sungskrit, the Orissa, the Hindee, and the Mahratta, as well as the whole of the Scriptures in the Bengalee.

The expense of translating and printing the whole of these will be about 58,000 rupees, or 7,250*l.* sterling, including the balance of 1,500*l.* now in hand. So that about fourteen hundred pounds annually, for four years, will enable them not only to finish the whole of the Scriptures in the Bengalee, but also to translate the New Testament into the Sungskrit, the Hindee, the Orissa, the Mahratta, the Telinga, the Kernata, the Guzzerattee, the Burman, and the language of the Seeks, printing an edition of a thousand in each.

The expense of the Chinese and Persian translations will be 1,650*l.* sterling, and of printing them about 1,250*l.* more; so that only between eight and nine thousand pounds, or a sum of two thousand pounds annually for about four years, will be required, to complete translations of the New Testament in twelve languages, and to print an edition of a thousand copies in each of them.

As the Old Testament consists of a little more than thrice the quantity of the New, the expense of that part of the work is easily calculated. Several circumstances may con-

cur to reduce this expense; such as, facility in the work, improvement in the types, &c. It is however scarcely necessary to advert to this now, as the New Testament being once completed, no one can doubt that the friends of religion will give every due encouragement to the translation of the whole Scriptures.

"Thus far," say the missionaries, "helped by God, we desire to adore his mercy and wisdom, and to present our grateful and cordial acknowledgments to the friends of religion in England, Scotland, and America, who have so generously come forward to assist in the work. To press them to go forward is as unnecessary, as it would be unkind in us, after the liberality we have experienced, to doubt their future support. Nor is it less superfluous to represent the nature of the work. It commends itself to the conscience and understanding of all who love the word of God. Were it only for the assistance it will afford in attempting to spread the gospel in these languages, it would deserve attention: but we cannot help looking to something beyond this. It is promised, that the Spirit shall be poured out on all nations; to HIM alone it belongs to know the times and the seasons, but we cannot forbear hoping that the Spirit of God may be poured out on the natives of these respective countries in the perusal of his holy word; nor avoid foreseeing that, were He to vouchsafe this blessing on his word, the wilderness would soon become a fruitful field, and the desert blossom as the rose."

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

SPAIN.

THE melancholy anticipations which, at the close of the last month, we were led to entertain, with respect to the affairs of Spain, have since been too fatally realized; and the only result which we can now view as probable, is the speedy and complete subjugation of that unhappy country. It will be recollected, that, in the month of August last, Bonaparte made use of this remarkable threat—"Before Christmas there will not be an Englishman in Spain, nor a village which will not acknowledge king Joseph." This was regarded by most people as a vain boast. His army in Spain was then so reduced as scarcely to be able to retain possession of the passes which connect that peninsula with France. The troops from which he had to draw his reinforcements, were removed to a distance of about 1,000

miles from the scene of action; and the military movements of Austria seemed to promise them employment in another quarter. The Spaniards, too, were supposed to be in great force, and burning with enthusiastic ardour to expel from their native land the instruments of its oppression. In these circumstances it was not irrational to hope, that, during the two months which must necessarily intervene before the French reinforcements could arrive, the armed population of Spain, led on by men not wholly ignorant of the art of war, would have at once overwhelmed the troops which occupied their frontiers, or would at least have worn them out by a daily renewal of well concerted attacks along the whole extent of their line. Such a system of warfare might have been attended with a prodigious waste of life; but in what other way could the

Spaniards hope to secure their liberties, without a still more prodigal sacrifice, if in any other way the object were at all attainable? Had they succeeded, they would have got possession of the Pyrenean defiles, and would have had it in their power to raise an almost impassable barrier against France, until their own levies had been fully organized, and the British forces had joined them. They might then have menaced Bonaparte in their turn; and, supposing Austria to have put forth her strength at the same time, might at least have placed some bounds to his encroachments. This promising hope of Europe, however, is now extinct. The French were suffered to remain in the unmolested possession of the passes of the Pyrenees, until immense armies were brought from the extremity of Germany, and introduced into Spain. The issue was then no longer doubtful. On the fifth of December, after a succession of engagements in which the Spaniards appear to have been uniformly worsted, Madrid was again occupied by the French, at which point there is no reason to suppose their progress would stop. It is perhaps hardly possible, that, in three weeks more, he should fully execute the threat alluded to above; but yet he has advanced so far towards its complete accomplishment, that, in the minds of the vulgar, his pretensions to a foresight something more than human will not be unlikely to obtain credit; while all must be forced to acknowledge, that even those of his declarations which have looked the most like mere bravadoes, have proceeded on an accurate calculation of his resources, and a just estimate of their adequateness to the object in view. This consideration, we cannot but think, ought to awaken the serious attention, not only of our own government, but of the public at large, to the means of our internal defence, the importance of which, whenever any temporary suspension of the alarm of invasion has been produced, we have been too apt to overlook. The seasons of occasional respite which we have experienced, should have been anxiously employed in perfecting our defensive preparations. Instead of which, these have almost uniformly languished in the absence of immediate danger; and have been resumed only when the enemy has reappeared at our gates. Let us return to Spain.

General Blake's army, which occupied Biscay, after sustaining a rapid succession of defeats, was at length completely dispersed. But its remains are said to be again collecting on the borders of Galicia. Biscay, the Asturias, Old Castile, and Leon, are conse-

quently in the power of the French. The army of Estremadura, which occupied Burgos, was in like manner entirely defeated. On the 25th November, the army of Castanos, consisting of 45,000 men, the only considerable force remaining to the Spaniards, was attacked and routed with the loss of 7,500 men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The French immediately advanced to Madrid; and, having forced the passes of Somo Sierra, appeared before it in considerable force on the 3d instant. A capitulation was speedily entered into; and on the 5th the city was occupied by the enemy.

The armies of Generals Moore and Baird have retired westward. The former had been joined by general Hope's division, and on the 5th instant was still at Salamanca. The latter, on the same day, had reached Villa Franca, about seventy miles to the west of Astorga.

The Spanish government, it is supposed, has transferred its seat to Seville. This place is defended from an immediate attack, by the intervention of the Sierra Morena. We have no reason however to hope, after all we have witnessed, that the defence of these defiles will long obstruct the advance of Bonaparte into the province of Andalusia. If the whole of our force indeed were collected in that quarter, supported as it would be by Gibraltar, some stand might possibly be made; but there is hardly a hope that our troops can be removed thither in time to render effectual assistance to the Spanish cause. It now becomes an important object to secure the ships of war lying in Cadiz.

The conduct of the attempt which has been made to deliver Spain from the power of Bonaparte, and its disastrous result, are calculated to afford an useful lesson to this country, which we trust will not be thrown away; but we must decline entering on the subject at present. Perhaps, indeed, when we contemplated the gross superstition, we had almost said idolatry, which prevails throughout Spain, as indicated by the patriotic journals; the influence enjoyed by the popish priesthood, the natural supporters of bigotry and ignorance; the abuses of the inquisition; the sullen despotism of the government; and the effect which all these causes combined were likely to produce on the national character, and on the development of the national energies; we ought not to have looked forward with any sanguine hope to a favourable termination of the contest. It is to be observed however, that, had that contest not taken place; had Joseph Bonaparte been allowed to seat himself quietly on the throne of the Bourbons; proba-

bly a regard to the prevailing prejudices of the people would have prevented any material interference with existing evils. Now no such delicacy will be felt; and the whole frame of the civil and ecclesiastical tyranny which has hitherto oppressed this country will probably be shaken to its foundations. The military despotism, which will occupy its place, is indeed no enviable substitute. But it may possibly be of short continuance; and it will have done its work;—it will have swept away a variety of insulations incompatible with the happiness and prosperity of any people. But we can only glance at these providential views of the subject, and must leave it to our readers to follow them out to their consequences.

The bulletins published by Bonaparte, of his progress in Spain, are framed with the same peculiarity of style which distinguished his bulletins in Germany. The succinct narrative which he gives of his proceedings is intermixed with remarks on individuals, abuse of the English, and intimations of his ulterior purposes. He is particularly severe on the monks, as the authors of the present troubles; and their extinction as a body may be anticipated. The plunder of the monasteries, and the appropriation of their revenues to his own use, will furnish an irresistible temptation to this course of proceeding. Thus does the Almighty employ even such instruments as Bonaparte, however unconscious they may be of his design, in effecting his own ends. They are made to serve a similar purpose in the moral world, which storms and earthquakes are calculated to produce in the natural.

RUSSIA.

The campaign in Finland has been closed by a convention, by which the Swedes, who had been worsted in the field, and who were reduced to a deplorable state of destitution, have agreed to evacuate Finland. The conquest of that province may therefore be considered as accomplished. The rigours of a northern winter will probably deter the Russians from any farther prosecution of the war at present. The convention stipulates that fourteen days' notice must be given before hostilities recommence.

An ukase has been published by the emperor Alexander, commanding that after the first of January no ship, of whatever nation, shall be allowed to enter or depart from any Russian port. A similar measure has been adopted in Holland. We may presume that it originates with Bonaparte. Finding the plans he has hitherto pursued for excluding

English commerce from the continent to be ineffectual, he has imposed on his vassal states this farther restriction; being evidently resolved that the foreign trade of the continent shall be wholly extinguished, rather than that his projects against the commerce of Great Britain should fail.

AMERICA.

The congress commenced its sittings on the 7th of November. From the message of the president, it appears that no change has taken place in the relations of that country with the powers of Europe. The proposal made to France, for rescinding her edicts respecting the commerce of neutrals, has received no answer whatever. The inducement held out to her appears to have been, that, in the event of the French decrees being repealed, and that of Great Britain continued, America would declare war against the latter. This, however, is only obscurely intimated. To England it was proposed, that, on her rescinding her orders in council relative to neutral commerce, the American trade should be opened with her, and remain shut to her enemy, in case of his failing to do the same. This proposal was rejected by our government, partly on account of the refusal of the president to recal his proclamation excluding British ships of war from the American waters; but chiefly on this ground, that our orders in council being no more than a measure of retaliation against France, and by no means an act of hostility towards America, it was necessary that the measure of aggression on the part of France should cease, before the measure of retaliation which it had occasioned should be withdrawn. This attempt to effect an accommodation having failed, the president is of opinion that the embargo should continue, and be rigidly enforced. All he says of Spain is, that the negotiations with that country "necessarily experience a pause, under the extraordinary and interesting crisis which distinguishes her internal situation." Much is said on plans of defence both naval and military, and on the state of the revenue, which is said to yield a large surplus. The improvement of the neighbouring Indians is said to be progressive; and some of them (the Cherokees particularly) have applied to be admitted to the rights of American citizenship. The state of the American commerce had led to the establishment of manufactures of various kinds, which, it is hoped, may supersede in time the necessity of going to other countries for supplies. The message concludes with an intimation, that it is the intention of the

president to retire from public life, when the period of his present presidency shall expire. This will be in March next.

It appears that the French cruizers make prize of all American vessels they meet with. The pretext on which this is justified is, that, an embargo existing in America, no vessel can depart thence; and that therefore all vessels under American colours must be impostors, and a fair object of capture. The seamen found on board have had the option given them, either of being considered as prisoners, or serving in Bonaparte's marine. Against these proceedings, the American ambassador is said to have ineffectually remonstrated.

GREAT BRITAIN.

A declaration has been issued by his majesty, in which he notifies the termination of the intercourse between himself and the governments of France and Russia. He had professed his readiness to enter into a negotiation in conjunction with his different allies, among whom he ranked the Spanish nation. The reply of France, in which Russia concurred, was, that the demand to admit the Spanish insurgents as a party to negotiation, was inadmissible and insulting. Under these circumstances, "neither the honour of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man, and whose exertions, in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to maintain."

Parliament is summoned to meet on the 19th of January.

A proclamation has been issued, appointing a general fast to be observed in England on the 6th of Feb., and in Scotland on the 9th.

An order in council has been made, by

which his majesty acknowledges the neutrality of all ports and places in St. Domingo, not immediately subject to the French; and permits all British ships to proceed thither, without being liable to any molestation or detention by our cruizers. This is a measure both of policy and justice, which ought to have been adopted four or five years ago.

The late bishop of Rochester, Dr. Dampier, has been removed to the see of Ely. The vacant see will be filled by Dr. Walker King.

The court of inquiry, for investigating the circumstances which led to the convention of Cintra, has closed its sittings; but its decision is not yet known. The general tenor of the evidence is this: that, when the French were defeated at Vimiera, sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to sir Harry Burrard to follow up the advantage which had been gained, and to cut off the retreat of the French to Lisbon; a proposition which he affirms to have been practicable. The latter thought differently, and countermanded the pursuit which had been ordered by sir Arthur. The French consequently regained their strong positions in Lisbon, and the convention was rendered, by that circumstance, highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary.

A flotilla of thirty-eight sail of the enemy's vessels has been captured in the harbour of Diamante in Italy; the batteries which defended them having first been taken possession of by a party of our troops.

The French frigate *La Piedmontaise*, of fifty guns, with 506 men on board, has been taken in the East Indies by the *San Fiorenzo* frigate, after a severe and long-fought action, repeatedly renewed during a chase of three days' continuance, in which captain Hardinge, of the *San Fiorenzo*, and twelve men, were killed, and twenty-six wounded: the French frigate lost forty-eight men killed, and 113 wounded.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

GAMMA; Y.; IGNORAMUS; and C. N. W., have been received.

SOPATER; and CLERICUS, will be inserted.

A correspondent informs us, that mutilated editions both of Mason's "Treatise on Self-Knowledge," and Watts's "Divine Songs," are in circulation; and wishes us to caution our readers against the imposition.

We beg to refer B. L. for a satisfactory account both of the "Necessary Erudition," &c. and the "Institution of a Christian man," to our volume for 1805, pp. 198, 261, 325, and 369.

G. S. F. will perceive that he has given us more credit for judgment than we deserved.

KESITTU; PHILOGRAPH; MIXTOS; and ALFRED, are under consideration.

We are unable to give R. S. the information he requires. His best mode of obtaining it will be to address the Committee in London, who have interested themselves in raising subscriptions.

✍ We regret that we have been unable to finish, in the present volume, the Reviews of *so important works*. We were not aware, when we began them, that they would have run to so great a length.

On the 1st of February next will be published the Appendix to the *Christian Observer* for 1805, along with the first number of the volume for 1806.

APPENDIX
TO THE
CHRISTIAN OBSERVER,
VOLUME THE SEVENTH.
FOR 1809.

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE, &c.

(Continued from p. 817.)

GREAT BRITAIN.

Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

On May 31, the annual meeting of this Society took place, when the following rewards were given.

To John Christian Curwen, esq. of Workington Hall, the gold medal, for improvements in the culture of vegetables, the extent of which includes economy in manure; the production of an equally weighty, and valuable crop, on only two-thirds of the land usually employed; the preservation of that land in excellent condition for subsequent crops, and procuring, by ploughing the soil, even in the driest season, such a sufficient quantity of moisture by evaporation from it, as to promote in a high degree the luxuriant growth of the vegetables on its surface.

To the earl of Mansfield, for his plantation of 96,000 oak trees, at Scone, near Perth, the gold medal.

To lord Boringdon, who, by embankments, has gained above 200 acres of arable land from the sea, a considerable part of which is now in a state of cultivation, a gold medal.

To the Rt. Rev. the lord bishop of Landaff, for planting 322,500 larch trees, on land heretofore of little use, a gold medal.

To Dr. A. Bain of Curzon-street, a gold medal, for planting about 339,000 forest trees, at Helleton, in Derbyshire.

To Robert Burrows, esq. of Great Witchingham, in Norfolk, who has been engaged in a very accurate course of experiments respecting the comparative advantages of wheat sown broadcast, drill-

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ed, and dibbled; and who has described every operation, the expense of each mode of culture, the nature and condition of the land, the produce of the corn, the weight per bushel, and also of the straw; and drawn inferences from the different operations of the advantages or disadvantages attending each; a gold medal.

To Mr. William Lawrence, of Maldon, in Essex, a silver medal, for about 100 acres of land gained from the sea by embankment.

For employing the instrument used in tapping for the dropsy, known by the name of the Trochea and Canula, instead of a common knife, in relieving cattle swelled by eating moist clover; to Mr. W. Wallis, mason, of Goodrest Lodge, Warwickshire, a silver medal.

To Mr. Thomas Fisher, of Ormskirk, Lancashire, for an invention which facilitates the operation of churning butter, five guineas.

To Mr. Charles Waistell, of High Holborn, for his communication of methods of ascertaining the value of growing timber trees, at different and distant periods, a gold medal.

To J. Butler, esq. Bramshott, Hants. for improving waste land, a silver medal.

To Mr. Samuel Curtis, Walworth, for planting above 4,000 fruit trees, for an orchard, at Bradwell, in Essex, a silver medal.

To Mr. Richard Parkison, of Walworth, near London, for the cure of the foot-rot in sheep, a silver medal.

To Mr. William Anderson, of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, a silver medal, for improvements in painting canvas for

hammock-cloths, and other useful purposes.

To Mr. Thomas Saddlington, 73, Lower Thames Street, for a cheap method of preserving fruit without sugar, for household uses or sea stores, five guineas.

To master William Ross, aged twelve years, of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, for an original drawing of the Judgment of Solomon, the silver medal. To miss Aspinal, of Quality Court, Chancery Lane, the silver medal, for a drawing of the Death of Virginia. To Mr. D. Dighton, Charing Cross, for an original drawing of the Battle of King Richard and Saladin, the silver medal. To miss Charlotte Delattre, North End, Fulham, for a drawing of the Grecian Daughter nourishing her father, the silver medal.

A gold medal to George Whitworth, esq. of Coxwold, for his great exertions in manufacturing ropes and sacking from sheep's wool, to answer the purpose of similar articles made from hemp. The corn-dealers in Mark Lane have sent certificates to the Society, expressing their approbation of the woollen sacks they have seen in use, and which they think will answer both in wear and price.

To Mr. Peter Tansley, of Wheeler Street, Spitalfields, for a cheap and ingenious method of cutting silk shag, the society have voted five guineas.

To captain G. W. Manby, of Yarmouth, the gold medal, for forming a communication with ships wrecked, or stranded, by means of a rope thrown over the vessel from a mortar on the shore. The rope is attached to a shell fired from the mortar: one end of the rope remains on shore; the shot having passed over the ship, the rope attached to the shot lies across the ship, is secured to the mast, or some permanent part of the ship, by the persons on board; or forms the means of connection with the shore by stronger ropes, on which a cot to hold persons or property is made to traverse to and from the shore.—The idea of throwing a rope from a mortar was suggested by Lieutenant Bell, in the year 1782, and then rewarded by the society. He proposed the mortar to be on board the ship, and from thence the rope to be thrown on land. Captain Manby thinks the reverse of that mode to be attended with more advantage, and has been successful in the experiments he has made.

To captain William Bolton, R. N. a silver medal has been voted, for the mo-

del of a plan for fitting ships' jury-masts when the original masts have been broken by storms or in engagements. These jury masts are formed from the spare spars usually carried on board king's ships, and in every merchant ship that is properly found; and will enable a ship to carry as much sail as on her usual mast. This invention is of great importance to ships after a general action, as they will by this means be enabled to prosecute their voyage or service without any deficiency of sail.

To captain H. L. Ball, R. N. a silver medal for an improvement in anchors, which renders them less liable to damage, than those made in the common mode, and of course gives greater security to the ship.

To Mr. Thomas Roberts, of the Navy-office, a silver medal, for improvements in ship building, by securing the ends of the beams of ships by cast iron work instead of wooden knees: which method, owing to the present scarcity of proper timber, will be a saving of upwards of 300*l.* in the construction of every 74 gun ship, besides giving equal security to the vessel, and allowing more room on board to work the guns. His majesty has been so satisfied with this invention, on the recommendation of the Navy Board, as to present him with 800*l.* for it, and many ships of war are built, and others are building, upon this plan.

To major Charles Le Hardy, of the isle of Jersey, for a telegraph of a new construction, referring to any number of words under forty thousand, the silver medal. To the chevalier Edelerantz, of Stockholm, for his model of the telegraph used in Sweden for conveying intelligence, the silver medal. To Mr. Henry Ward, of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, for an ingenious crank used in working telegraphs, &c. ten guineas. To Mr. Robert Richardson, of Keswick, in Westmoreland, for an easy and simple method of raising large stones out of the earth, ten guineas. To Mr. William Barlow, of the dock yard, Portsmouth, for a screw wrench to fit different sized heads of screws, five guineas. To Mr. John Tad, Little Hermitage Street, Wapping, for a method of preventing doors from dragging on carpets, five guineas.

The society have been on the alert in encouraging the British fisheries, and in promoting the culture of hemp in Canada and the East Indies. The quality of the

Canada hemp is much like that from Russia; but the scarcity of hands in Canada, and the want of machinery to assist in the preparation of the hemp, when grown, has been an obstacle to its increase in the proportion that is wanted. The society, desirous of giving every aid in their power, during the last session rewarded Mr. Bond for a machine or brake to separate the filaments of hemp from the plant, by the power of a water wheel; and this session have voted to Mr. Cleall, of West Coher, the sum of twenty guineas, for a machine to thresh out, or separate hemp seeds, or flax seeds, from their respective plants, with much greater ease and less damage to the seeds. An account of these machines is already in the press, and, with an explanatory engraving, will be forwarded shortly to Canada gratuitously.—With a view to give every possible information respecting the mode in which the Dutch herring fishery is conducted, they have also published a translation of the Dutch ordinances on that subject, to be also gratuitously distributed amongst the persons concerned in the British fisheries. They have this session voted their silver medal to Mr. George Errington, of Yarmouth, for curing herrings, which, though somewhat inferior to the Dutch, are superior to those generally cured in England, and equal to the Swedish herrings.

The report made on this occasion states, that although upwards of 60,000*l.* raised by the voluntary contributions of the members of the society have been expended in the objects of the institution, the funds of the society are in a most flourishing state, and one hundred and sixteen members have been elected during the present session.

Mr. B. Cook, of Birmingham, has endeavoured to shew the great advantages that may be derived even by manufacturers and tradesmen on the smallest scale, *from the use of gas for light, instead of candles.* His apparatus consists simply of a small cast-iron pot, of about eight gallons, to receive the coal, and a cast-iron cover, which is luted to it with sand. The gas passes through water into the gasometer or reservoir, which holds about four hundred gallons, and by means of old gun barrels, he conveys it all round his work-shops. His saving by this apparatus he computes at three-fifths. "But," he continues, "if erected on a smaller scale, the saving to the manufacturer is equally great;

for the poor man who lights only six candles or uses one lamp, will find it cost him only 10*l.* or 12*l.*; which he will nearly, if not quite, save the first year. And if the pipes are made of old gun-barrels, and once a year, or once in two years, coated over with tar, to keep them from rusting, they will last half a century." Besides the profit thus derived, Mr. Cook conceives that from the tar of the coal a spirit might be made as a substitute for the tar-spirit brought from Russia; which would be of vast importance to a great number of manufacturers, especially japanners; that article having advanced from 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* per gallon, since the interruption of our trade with the north.

Mr. Taylor (the Platonist) announces that he has made some very important discoveries in that branch of the mathematics, relating to infinitesimals, and infinite series. One of these discoveries consists in the ability of ascertaining the last term of a great variety of infinite series, whether such series are composed of whole numbers or fractions. Mr. Taylor farther announces, as the result of these discoveries, that he is able to demonstrate that all the leading propositions in Dr. Wallis's Arithmetic of Infinites are false, and that the doctrine of Fluxions is founded on false principles, and, as well as the Arithmetic of Infinites, is a most remarkable instance of the possibility of deducing true conclusions from erroneous principles. Mr. Taylor is now composing a treatise on this subject, which will be published in the course of this year.

The third annual examination of the East-India College at Hertford lately took place before a committee of the Directors: The business commenced by the reading of two essays, the one composed by Mr. Molony, and the other by Mr. Stokes: the subject, "the Influence of Commerce upon the Character and Prosperity of Nations."—Several of the students then gave specimens of their proficiency in Oriental learning, by reading and construing various passages in the Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengallee, and Hindustani languages.

A list of the names of students who have distinguished themselves in Persian writing, was then laid before the committee, and publicly announced; as was also, a list of those who had acquired eminence in their knowledge of the French language. Specimens of drawing were also submitted to the committee's inspection. In all these several branches of instruction the committee reported to the court, that a degree of talent

and industry has been displayed, no less honourable to the students and honourable to their teachers, than gratifying to the committee.

The following prizes, as awarded by the College Council, were then presented by the chairman, viz.—Gold Medals: To Mr. Molony, for his Essay on *The Influence of Commerce upon the Character and Prosperity of Nations*; Mr. Anderson, jun. for his proficiency in Sanscrit; Mr. Patton, jun. in Persian; Mr. Stokes, in Classical Literature; Mr. Parish, in Mathematics; and Mr. Stokes, in Political Economy, History, and Law.—Books: To Mr. Stokes and Mr. Russell, for their Essays on the Influence of Commerce upon the Character and Prosperity of Nations; Mr. Sullivan, for his proficiency in Theology, &c.; Mr. Parks, Mr. Anderson, Stius, and Mr. Carter, for their proficiency in Bengalee; Mr. Stokes, Mr. Anderson, jun., Sir James Home, Bart., and Mr. Macween, in Persian; Sir James Home, Bart. and Mr. Young, in Hindustani; Mr. Holland, Mr. Anderson, jun., Mr. Young, and Mr. Traill, in Classical Literature; Mr. Anderson, jun., Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Chase, Mr. Haig, and Mr. Hyde, in Mathematics; Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Prinsep, in Political Economy and History; and Mr. Prinsep, and Mr. Bayley, in Law.

A native Moonshee, named Monlave Meer Abdou Ali, has been appointed Persian preceptor at the India Company's college at Hertford, with a salary of 600*l.* a year.

The first stone of a new prison for the county of Edinburgh, was laid on the 3th of September. This erection, which has long been wanted, is to be on a scale worthy of the metropolis: the whole of the houses between Forrester's Wynd and Leberton's Wynd being purchased, and about to be taken down, to make room for it. The plan is well calculated for the comfort and security of the prisoners, and the preservation of their morals, as the several classes will be kept entirely separate from each other, which could not be done in the former gaol. Another set of public buildings is also begun, for the further accommodation of the courts of justice, a new exchequer, and a building for the reception of the magnificent library of the Society of Advocates. It runs westward from the Parliament-house, and will form a magnificent pile of Grecian architecture.

An equestrian figure of his majesty has lately been formed in chalk on Osmington Hills, the property of Mr. Wood, opposite the bay of Weymouth. Although its length

is 280, and its height 320 feet, yet the likeness of the king is well preserved, and the symmetry of the horse is complete. It forms a novel and pleasing object to the pedestrians on the Esplanade, but more especially to those who are fond of water excursions, as from the bay its view is more complete. It has been carried into effect under the direction of Mr. Wood, bookseller, at the particular request and sole expence of John Raignier, esq. brother to the late admiral.

An account, shewing what has been redeemed of the national debt, the land-tax, and Imperial loan, to the first of November, 1808.

Redeemed by annual million,	
&c.	72,202,258
Ditto on account of loans	71,533,693
Ditto by land-tax	23,156,429
Ditto by 1 per cent. per ann.	
on imperial loan	910,087
Stock transferred by life annuities up to 27th Oct. 1808 ..	226,602

Total *L.* 168,629,684

The sum to be expended in the ensuing quarter is 2,690,673*l.* 1*l.* 2*d.*

Mr. William Skrimshire, jun. has made some observations on the fecula of potatoes, which seem particularly worthy of attention. One thousand grains of potatoes yielded one hundred and eleven grains of fine white fecula, when perfectly dry, which he recommends not only as the most economical means of fattening cattle and pigs, but also as a very palatable and nutritious food for man. This fecula, which is generally known to laundresses by the name of potatoe starch, is obtained by the process which they employ. Formed into small cakes, and dried in the open air, or by a gentle heat, this preparation will keep for many years. When the fecula and pulp are mixed together, and thus prepared, half an ounce of it will, says Mr. Skrimshire, gelatinize so large a quantity of boiling water as to afford a sufficient meal for any labouring person in health. It may be sweetened either with molasses or sugar; or being boiled with an onion or pot-herbs, and seasoned with pepper and salt, it will make a very palatable, wholesome, and nutritious soup. If this preparation be boiled with milk, sweetened with sugar, and flavoured with a little wine or spice, it forms the most nourishing and restorative food that can possibly be administered to the sick and convalescent. The pure fecula, the author asserts, will be found superior in every respect to salep, sago, arrow-root, or any vegetable preparation of that kind.

The city of Glasgow, which till lately had no supply of water but from wells, has at length the prospect of an inexhaustible provision from the river Clyde, by means of pipes and steam-engines. Two companies have embarked in similar undertakings, and the works of both are in considerable forwardness. But the circumstance which demands most attention from the public is, the filtration of the whole supply of water by means of reservoirs constructed for the purpose. This process is effected by making the water filter through sand and gravel from the large reservoir, into which it is first raised by the steam-engine, into a second situated a little lower, and from which the conveying pipes receive their supply.—Experience has proved, that spring water, though purer to the eye, is nevertheless inferior in purity to the water of rivers. The latter contains impurities visible to the eye; the former in a state of solution, and therefore invisible. From river water the impurities will separate themselves, almost entirely, by rest or filtration; from that of springs they cannot be separated by ordinary means. The healthiness of London has been attributed, in great part, to its being supplied with river water. This end would be promoted, if, as in Glasgow, the water could be made to undergo the process of filtration.

A number of Spanish sheep, of the Merino breed, were lately sent over, by one of the juntas of Spain, as a present to his majesty. Two thousand five hundred were embarked, but only eighteen hundred landed in this country. They are now at Kew and Richmond, and are thriving very well. Thirteen Spanish shepherds came over with them.

Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby will sell by auction, during this winter and succeeding spring, the following libraries and collections, giving due notice of the time of each sale.—1. A very rare and curious collection of prints and books of prints, the property of a gentleman, well known as a literary amateur, containing some rare portraits, fine specimens of early masters, and a large collection of the works of Hieronymus Wierx, &c.—2. The extensive and valuable collection of botanical prints, drawings, and books of drawings, the property of the late John, earl of Bute; comprising many hundred capital botanical drawings on paper and vellum; likewise all the plates, coloured and plain, of the botanical works then extant, forming a complete illustration of the *Species plantarum*.—3. A select collection of books, in Greek, Latin, English, Italian, and Spanish; being a considerable part of the Rev. Mr. Dutton's

library.—4. The library of James Sims, M. D. LL. D. F. R. S. brought from his house in Finsbury Square.—5. The entire and valuable library of the late John Thomas, earl of Clarionde, &c.—6. A part of the library of the late Right. Hon. Richard, baron Penrhyn, of Penrhyn.—7. The very valuable library of sir William Smyth, Bart. containing a very fine collection of classics, county history, &c. many on large paper.—8. Dr. Kitchner's musical library. This very extraordinary assemblage of music, consisting of the complete works of the best composers, is in very elegant condition, to which is added, a small miscellaneous selection from his library.—9. The valuable library of James Stevens, Esq. of Camerton, containing a very capital collection of books in natural history, &c.

FRANCE.

The answer of Bonaparte to the deputies from Upper Italy, on the 27th of October last, gives some insight into his determination with regard to the papacy, and other ecclesiastical establishments.—“Ecclesiastics ought to restrict themselves to the government of heavenly affairs. Theology, which they learn in their youth, affords them sure rules for the government of spiritual affairs, but none at all for the government of armies, and public administration. Our councils have forbidden the priests from marriage, in order that the cares of a family may not divert them from attention to spiritual concerns, to which they ought to be exclusively devoted.”

An imperial decree of the 19th October enacts: 1. The members of the Jewish central consistory established in our good city of Paris, by our decree of July 17th last, shall be installed by our counsellor of state, the prefect of the department of the Seine; in whose hands they shall, on the Old Testament, take the following oath: “I swear and promise to God, on the Holy Bible, to maintain obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor. I promise, also, to reveal whatever shall come to my knowledge, that may be contrary to the interests of the sovereign, or of the state.” 2. The members of other consistories of Jewish synagogues to be installed by the prefects of the departments respectively, and to take the same oath.

By a decree of Oct. 22d, all coins struck after Jan. 1. 1809, instead of the inscription on the reverse *Republique Française*, are to be inscribed *Empire Français*.

The first division of the antiquities from the Palais Bourbon is arrived. They were

conveyed on large carriages, made on purpose, especially for those supposed to be the most liable to be broken; such as the Gladiator, the Faun, the Borghese Vases, &c. An ambulatory forge attended each smaller division, in order to repair what accidents might happen. The carriages have taken two months and a half in passing the Alps.

The French chemists have not only repeated Mr. Davy's experiments on the decomposition of alkalis (Christ. Obs. for Oct. p. 680), but have confirmed the accuracy of his researches, by obtaining similar results by a different process. Messrs. Gay and Thénard have succeeded in deoxidating potash by means of iron. The event is announced in "*Correspondence sur l'Ecole Imperiale Polytechnique*," number 10, in the following terms:—"A letter from London, dated November 23, 1807, announced that Mr. Davy had succeeded, by means of a strong galvanic pile, in decomposing the two alkalis of potash and soda; and that he had read a memoir to the Royal Society, in which he concluded that these two alkalis were metallic oxides. On the 8th of December, Messrs. Gay and Thénard repeated Mr. Davy's experiments at the laboratory of the Polytechnic School, and actually obtained at the negative pole of a pile, with large plates, the two new metals, the existence of which had not even been suspected previous to Mr. Davy's experiments. The above chemists, however, continued the inquiry in a new point of view. They proposed to themselves the discovery of a substance sufficiently oxidizable to take off the oxygen from the alkalis, which had been ascertained to be metallic oxides, and their experiments were attended with success. On treating potash with iron, in the fire of a reverberating furnace, the iron deoxidated the potash, and made it pass to the metallic state."

The junction of the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, by a canal between the rivers Saône and Yonne, a measure long in contemplation, has lately been resumed with vigour.

A junction has been projected between the Elbe and the Weser: a canal has also been talked of to connect Westphalia with the shores of the Baltic; and another to communicate between Bremen and the Vistula.

EAST INDIES.

The abbé Dutois, who was so fortunate as to escape from France, during the horrors of the revolution, and has since resided in the

Mysore country, has completed a very valuable work on the various Indian Castes. It has been inspected and highly approved of, by sir J. Mackintosh, and other literary characters in India, and by them recommended to the notice of the government, who have agreed to purchase the manuscript of the abbé, and to publish it at their own expense. The translation from the French is entrusted to a military officer of consequence and ability.

NORTH AMERICA.

A survey has been made, by order of congress, of that part of the coast of North Carolina which lies between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear. This survey was performed during the last summer by captains Price and Coles, who have made a valuable report of their observations, accompanied by a new chart of the coast. In this they consider that the shoals of Cape Hatteras are delineated on the maps too far westward, thereby endangering navigation under the mask of supposed security. They have found the bottom of the ocean in those parts to be a loose sand, moveable by the waves, often mixed with gravel, ooze, and shells, and changing its position. They have sounded the coasts of Capes Hatteras, Look-out, and Fear, quite to the margin of the gulf stream. Through the Frying-pan shoals, off Cape Fear, they have discovered an opening not hitherto known, ten miles from the land, which may be of great importance to the coasting navigation. This is the second survey made by order, and at the expense of the American government; the first being a hydrographical survey of Long Island Sound, completed a few years ago; a chart of which has since been published by two of the persons employed, captains Forstieck and Cahoon. The information furnished by the second undertaking has been followed by an ample provision for a maritime survey of the whole coast of the United States. In Feb. 1807, an act of congress was passed, appropriating fifty thousand dollars to enable the president to cause a survey to be made of the coasts, and of all the islands, shoals, roads, and places of anchorage, within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States of America; as also the courses and distances between the principal capes and head-lands.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THEOLOGY.

Scriptural Illustrations of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with a practical Comment upon each Article. By Samuel Wix, A. M. Rector of Inworth, in the County of Essex; and Vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, London. 8vo. 8s.

A Sermon preached at the Cathedral of Durham, at the Assizes holden there, Aug. 10, 1808. By John Brewster, M. A. 1s. 6d.

The Sunday Lessons throughout the Year, with those of Christmas-day and Good Friday; illustrated by a perpetual Commentary in the Form of Notes, Historical Introductions to the Books, and Analytical Contents of the Chapters, and by an Index to the Notes. By Stephen Weston, B. D. F. R. S. Part I. 4s. 6d.

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DEATHS.

Rev. Lewis Williams, rector of Woolston, co. Salop.

Rev. John Lockman Crane, vicar of Crondhall, Hants.

At Greenwich, in a very advanced age, Rev. John Locker, vicar of Kenton, Devon.

In his 81st year, the Rev. James Burgess, vicar of Rickling, Essex.

At Hartbury Castle, aged 88, the Right Rev. Richard Hurd, D.D. Bishop of Worcester.

Rev. Mr. Robinson, many years curate of Seaton, near Uppingham.

At Craumer-house, co. Norfolk, the Rev. Matthew Jones, rector of Sculthorpe.

Suddenly, in an apoplectic fit, the Rev. Dr. Underhill, of the Sardinian chapel in Lincoln's-inn-fields.

Aged 25, the Rev. Thomas Henry Lloyd, fellow of King's-college, Cambridge, and eldest son of the Rev. Thomas L. of North Walsham, Norfolk.

At Liverpool, on his way to Bath, the Rev. Jn. Crelling, late vicar-general of the Isle of Man.

Aged 65, the Rev. Mr. Gill, vicar of Tugby, co. Leicester. Mrs. G. and two sons have died within twelve months; an affliction which doubtless hastened Mr. G.'s death.

In his 84th year, after repeated paralytic attacks, the Rev. George Ashby, B.D. F.S.A. rector of Barrow, Suffolk.

At Bournemouth, Rev. Ralph Sneyd, rector of Jevington, and domestic chaplain to the Prince of Wales.

Rev. Richard Coulton, M.A. rector of Houghton, co. Leicester.

At Market-street, Herts, in the 70th year of his age, after a lingering illness, the Rev. George Smith, M.A. rector of Puttenham, and curate of Market-street chapel, Herts.

At Bristol Hot-wells, the Rev. James Allen, M.A. rector of Kenchester, vicar of Mansel, Herts.

Rev. Mr. Wilson, rector of Sulhumstead, in Berkshire.

Aged 73, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Kettilby, vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, London, and rector of Sutton, co. Bedford. He was also Geometry lecturer at Gresham college, in which he is succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Birch, M.A. fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge.

Aged 71, the Rev. Edward Wodley, of

Soulbury. His wife, aged 78, survived him only fifteen days.

At Exeter, the Rev. William Carpenter, minister of Launceston, and one of the prebendaries of the cathedral of that city.

Rev. P. Elston, of West Down, Devon.

Rev. William Press Smith, rector of Waxham, and vicar of Pawling next the Sea, co. Norfolk.

Rev. Richard Jervis, curate of Stoke Golding, co. Leicester, and master of the Free-school there, founded by Mrs. Hodges.

At the vicarage-house, Petham, Kent, in the 68th year of his age, the Rev. Thomas Randolph, M.A.

At Cotesbach, co. Leicester, after many years' illness, aged 67, the Rev. Robert Marriott, LL.D. rector of that place, and of Gilmorton, in the same county.

At Stetchworth, co. Cambridge, the Rev. ——— Symonds, vicar of that parish, and of Swaffham Barnet, both in that county.

Rev. George Thompson, of Hull, vicar of Wawne, curate of Sutton and Drypool, and forty-four years chaplain to the Trinity-house at Hull.

At Woolbedding, Sussex, aged 64, the Rev. Charles Williams, rector of that parish and of Kingstone-by-Sea.

At Upper Slaughter, co. Gloucester, the Rev. Fernando Tracey Travell, more than forty-four years rector of that parish.

Rev. W. Humphreys, pastor of the Independent Congregation at Hammersmith.

At Bow, Middlesex, after a severe and short illness of only ten days, the Rev. William James French, of Trinity college, Cambridge; B.A. 1788; M.A. 1791.

At the manse of Monzie, the Rev. Ralph Taylor, minister of the Gospel.

At Norwich, the Rev. John Beevor, rector of Great and Little Burlingham, and of Scarning, all in Norfolk.

At Harleston, Northamptonshire, aged 65, the Rev. Gilbert Andrews, M.A. thirty-six years rector of that parish.

In his 68th year, the Rev. James Nasmith, D.D. rector of Leverington, in the Isle of Ely. He was formerly of Bene't college, Cambridge; where he proceeded B.A. 1764, M.A. 1767, D.D. 1797.

Aged 78, the Rev. Edward Edwards, warden of Brown's hospital, at Stamford, co. Lincoln.

At Cricklade, Wilts. of which place he

was vicar, the Rev. Richard Purdy, D.D. formerly of Queen's college, Oxford.

At Montrose, Forfarshire, in the 54th year of his age, after a short illness, the Rev. John Reay, chaplain of the English Episcopal Chapel of St. Peter, Montrose.

In his 87th year, the Rev. Sir William Ullithorn Wray, bart. of Darley, co. Derby, of which parish he had been forty-four years rector.

Rev. Tudor Brigstock, M.A. one of the senior fellows of Jesus college, Oxford. He was thrown from his carriage at Caermarthen, and instantly killed.

At Harrogate, the Rev. Thomas Spence, M.A. second fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge.

At St. Andrew's, in Scotland, in the 67th year of his age, and 45th of his ministry, the Rev. John Adamson, senior minister of that city, and professor of Civil History in the university of St. Andrew.

In the 76th year of his age, and 51st of his ministry, the Rev. Robert Small, D.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of Dundee.

At Forthampton Court, Gloucestershire, in his 78th year, the Hon. and Right Rev. James Yorke, LL.D. Lord Bishop of Ely, Governor of Addenbrooke's Hospital, and Visitor of Jesus, St. John's, and Peter's colleges, Cambridge.

At Eastfield, the Rev. James Rhind, minister of Whithorn.

Rev. John Covey, vicar of Selbourne, Hants, and late fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford.

Aged 93, the Rev. John Longdon, rector of Winstone, and perpetual curate of Barywood and Flaxley, Gloucestershire.

At Cockermouth, in Cumberland, the Rev. John Wheatley, M.A. rector of that place, and formerly of St. John's college, Cambridge.

Rev. Mr. Gower, rector of Little Gransden, Cambridgeshire.

By the bursting of a blood-vessel, the Rev. James Hare, rector of Coln St. Dennis, co. Gloucester, vicar of Stratton St. Margaret, Wilts, and author of "An Essay on Scepticism," and several sermons.

Rev. Samuel Gatehouse, of Cheriton, near Wincanton, Somerset.

At Edinburgh, the Rev. Thomas Murray, minister of Chandelkirk.

At his house in Essex Street, aged 85, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey.

In his 82d year, the Rev. Richard Hart, M.A. upwards of fifty years vicar of St. George's, Gloucestershire.

At Stoke Newington, Middlesex, the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, husband of the lady so highly distinguished by her numerous publications for the improvement of youth, and formerly keeper of the academy at Palgrave, in Suffolk.

After a few days illness, in the 42d year of his age, the Rev. Sir Henry Pix Heyman, bart. vicar of Fressingfield cum Withersdale, in Suffolk. He was formerly fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge.

At Wickwar, co. Gloucester, the Rev. Jos. Williams, formerly of Jesus college, Oxford.

At the manse of Muirhouse, in the 82d year of his age, and 45th of his pastoral care, the Rev. Alexander Imlach, minister of the parish of Muirhouse, in the presbytery of Dundee.

Aged 77, the Rev. Peter Hawker, rector of Woodchester, in Gloucestershire.

At Hereford, in his 83d year, the Rev. Williams Allen, D.D. one of the prebendaries of that cathedral.

At his house in Edinburgh, the Rev. Donald Mackintosh, of the Old Scots Episcopal Church, the last of the Nonjuring Clergy in Scotland.

At Edinburgh, the Rev. Duncan Mackay, late acting chaplain of his Majesty's troops at Madras. He has left 3000*l.* for founding a new bursary in the United College of St. Andrew's, vesting the patronage thereof in lord Reay.

Rev. Mr. Robinson, vicar of Horkstow.

At his seat at Hawkstone, in Shropshire, in his 76th year, Sir Richard Hill, bart.

At his seat near Winchester, of dropsy of the chest, in his 75th year, admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, bart.; one of the heroes of the first of June 1794, under Lord Howe.

Aged 78, the Rev. John Farrer, vicar of Stanwick, Cumberland, and minister of the perpetual curacies of Witton-le-Wear and Hamsterly, co. Durham.

At his house at Chrisilton, in Cheshire, the Rev. Thomas Mostyn, brother of the late Sir Roger M. bart.

At Stourbridge, the Rev. Thomas Moss, B.A. perpetual curate of Brierly-hill chapel, Staffordshire. He was the author of the beautiful and pathetic little poem, entitled, "The Beggar's Petition," published, with some others, in one small volume.

In Bennet Street, aged 65, Rev. Dr. Ackland, rector of Christ-church, Surrey, and chaplain to the Fishmongers' Company.

Rev. John Brand, M.A. rector of St. George's in the Borough of Southwark, and vicar of Wickham, near Twayte, Suffolk: he has left eight orphans.

POSTSCRIPT.

EAST INDIES.

ACCOUNT OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL DIS-
PUTATION AT THE COLLEGE OF FORT
WILLIAM.

A PUBLIC disputation of the students of the college of Fort William took place before lord Minto, the governor-general, on the 27th February last:—first, in Hindoostanee: respondent, E. R. Barwell; opponents, Alexander and Sisson; moderator, Dr. Leyden:—second, in Persian: respondent, Lindsay; opponents, Alexander and Colvin; moderator, M. Lumsden, esq.:—third, in Bengalee: respondent, Tytler; opponent, Dick; moderator, Rev. W. Carey:—fourth, Arabic Declamation, Colvin:—fifth, Mahratta Declamation, Sotheby.

The students on whom lord Minto conferred degrees of honour on this occasion, for their proficiency in the native languages, were Messrs. Tytler, Colvin, Lindsay, Alexander, Sisson, Macnabb, and Barwell. Honorary prizes and medals, adjudged at the late public examination, were also distributed to the following students—viz. Messrs. Tytler, Colvin, Lindsay, Alexander, Sisson, Macnabb, Barwell, Chalmer, Ellice, Dick, Cuthbert, Sotheby, Blagrove, Chamberlain, Forrester, and Tucker.

The prizes having been distributed, lord Minto delivered a discourse, which is greatly too long for insertion; but from which it appears that the college of Fort William is advancing in a course of sensible improvement; and that the period in which an adequate proficiency in the native languages is attained by the students, has been greatly shortened.

In the course of his speech, the governor-general notices those accessions to the literature of the East, which either have been made or

are in progress, in immediate connection with the college of Fort William, or in some manner associated with it.

—A printing press has been established by learned Hindoos, with complete founts of improved Nagree types of different sizes, for the printing of books in the Sanscrit language. This press has been encouraged by the college to undertake an edition of the best Sanscrit dictionaries, and a compilation of the Sanscrit rules of Grammar. The first of these works is completed, and the second is in considerable forwardness. It may be hoped that the introduction of the art of printing among the Hindoos will promote the general diffusion of knowledge among them; at the same time that it preserves the remains of their literature and sciences. The compilation of an alphabetical Sanscrit dictionary had been undertaken, soon after the institution of the college, by learned natives employed for that purpose. The work has been lately completed. A dictionary, Sanscrit and English, the work of Mr. Colebrooke, has been long in the press, and may be expected to be published in a few months.

A plan of a comparative vocabulary of Indian languages had been proposed, in the preceding year, by sir James Mackintosh. A more extensive plan for the compilation of grammars and dictionaries of Asiatic languages had been also suggested by Dr. Leyden, who had it in contemplation to undertake the task himself. But this plan having been deferred, the council of the college adopted a different arrangement. A vocabulary in Persian and Hindoostanee, and another in Sanscrit and Bengalee, have been

prepared, and will be printed and circulated, for the purpose of being filled up by competent persons with the corresponding terms in other languages in use in India. The printed vocabularies will be soon completed: and as it cannot be doubted that assistance will be cheerfully rendered by every gentleman whose local situation enables him to forward this useful undertaking, the successful issue of it may be confidently anticipated.

Meer Sher Ulee, the head Moonshce in the Hindoostanee department of the college, having compiled and arranged, in the Hindoostanee language, a work on the history and geography of India, has been encouraged by the college to print it for publication.

The college council and the Asiatic society, who formerly supported Mr. Carey and his assistants in a translation of the *Rāmāyān*, have since determined to extend a similar support to the publication, by the same persons, of the text-books of one of the systems of Hindoo philosophy, entitled *Sāṅkhya*. This will constitute a further step towards the attainment of the object of making known those works in the ancient language of India, which are held in greatest estimation by the Hindoos themselves.

A dictionary of the Mahratta, compiled by Mr. Carey, and printed by him in the Mahratta character, has been some time in the press. It is a work which has been long wanted; and the publication of this, with the grammar before prepared by Mr. Carey, furnishing the means of acquiring a very useful language, will be found of essential benefit, by the junior servants of the Company, on the establishments of Fort St. George and Bombay.

We owe to Mr. H. P. Forster two works of great labour, learning, and utility, in Sanscrit philology. — 1. An essay on Sanscrit grammar, with tables of inflections; a dissertation on Sanscrit roots; and a translation of the *Mugtabodha*, a

celebrated treatise on Sanscrit grammar. 2. A dictionary in the Sanscrit and Bengalee languages: the words arranged alphabetically, with a translation into English.

Mr. F. Gladwin has contributed to the stock of Indian philology a dictionary of Persian, Hindoostanee, and English, in three parts, composing three octavo volumes.

A work has been published by Mirza Kazim Ali Juan, entitled Historical account of the Bhamina dynasty of the Dekhan, being nearly a translation into Hindoostanee of that portion of Ferishta's Persian history.

The first steps in facilitating an acquaintance with the Affghan or Pooshta language, spoken as well in Rohilkund as in Affghanistan Proper, were made by Emir Mahammed, a native of Peshawer in Affghan, who formed a vocabulary of it. The labours of colonel Collins extended this vocabulary into a considerable dictionary, and produced an essay on Affghan grammar. Roused by this circumstance, Mohuebut Khan, a chieftain of Rohilkund, set about compiling a dictionary of his own language, which he accomplished in one year, and which does great credit to his exertion, learning, and capacity.

The Malay is the language of trade and general intercourse among the Eastern Isles, as well as on the Malay peninsula. At the settlements on Prince of Wales's Island, and Sumatra, it is also used for deeds, &c. At Penang, Mr. Shaw has made progress in publishing a grammar of it. The same language has been successfully cultivated by Mr. Raffles, secretary to the government at Prince of Wales's Island, who has been long employed in compiling a code of Malay laws, in the Malay and Bogueese languages.

What we were most struck with in lord Minto's speech, is the following passage, which we give entire. The concluding sentence of it especially, cannot fail highly to gratify our readers.

"If I have not passed beyond the legitimate bounds of this discourse, in ranging to the extremity of those countries, and to the furthest island of that vast Archipelago in which the Malay language prevails, I shall scarcely seem to transgress them, by the short and easy transition thence to the language of China. I am, in truth, strongly inclined, whether regularly or not, to deal one encouraging word to the meritorious, and I hope not unsuccessful effort, making, I may say, at the door of our college*, though not admitted to its portico, to force that hitherto impregnable fortress, the Chinese language. The means, we all know, that, in the present circumstances, can be employed in that difficult undertaking, are very inconsiderable. The honour is so much the greater to those, whose enterprize seems already to have opened at least a prospect of success. Three young men†, I ought, indeed, to say boys, have not only acquired a ready use of the Chinese language for the purpose of oral communication, which, I understand, is neither difficult nor rare, amongst Europeans connected with China; but they have achieved, in a degree worthy of admiration, that which has been deemed scarcely within the reach of European faculties or industry; I mean a very extensive and correct acquaintance with the written language of China. I will not detail the particulars of the examination which took place on the 10th of this month at Serampore, in

* By the Missionaries at Serampore.

† Sons of the Missionaries; one of whom was fifteen years of age, another thirteen, and the third only eight.

the Chinese language, the report of which, however, I have read with great interest, and recommend to the liberal notice of those whom I have the honour to address. It is enough for my present purpose to say, that these young pupils read Chinese books and translate them; and they write compositions of their own in the Chinese language and character. A Chinese press too is established, and in actual use. In a word, if the founders and supporters of this little college have not yet dispelled, they have at least sent and admitted, a dawn of day through that thick impenetrable cloud; they have passed that *occasum dissociabilem* which for so many ages has insulated that vast empire from the rest of mankind. Let us entertain at least the hope, that a perseverance in this or similar attempts may let in at length upon those multitudes the contraband and long forbidden blessings of human intercourse and social improvement.

"I MUST NOT OMIT TO COMMEND THE ZEALOUS AND PERSEVERING LABOURS OF MR. LASSAR, AND OF THOSE LEARNED AND PIOUS PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH HIM, WHO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED, FOR THE FUTURE BENEFIT, WE MAY HOPE, OF THAT IMMENSE AND POPULOUS REGION, CHINESE VERSIONS, IN THE CHINESE CHARACTER, OF THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE, THROWING OPEN THAT PRECIOUS MINE, WITH ALL ITS RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TREASURES, TO THE LARGEST ASSOCIATED POPULATION IN THE WORLD."

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